Two-Way Embargo—*An Editorial*

THE *Nation*

June 9, 1951

Mob Rule in Crossville

The High Price of Dissent

BY MARLEY COLE

*

The Gaullist Threat

BY ALEXANDER WERTH

*

Peking Puzzle

JUN 7 1951

BY ANDREW ROTH

The Charles C. Sherrod Library
EAST TENNESSEE STATE COLLEGE
Johnson City, Tennessee

*

America's Rotten Boroughs

BY WILLARD SHELTON

20 CENTS A COPY · EVERY WEEK SINCE 1865 · 7 DOLLARS A YEAR

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

In Next Week's Issue of THE *Nation*

SUMMER BOOKS

"Buoyant Billions," G. B. Shaw's Last Play — *Reviewed by Joseph Wood Krutch*

"The England of Elizabeth" by A. L. Rowse — *Reviewed by Alfred Harbage*

"Introduction to Poetry" by Mark Van Doren — *Reviewed by Howard Doughty*

"Failure in Japan" by Robert E. Textor — *Reviewed by Sir George Sansom*

"Political Realism and Political Idealism" by John H. Herz
Reviewed by Joseph Kraft

"The Ballad of the Sad Cafe" by Carson McCullers — *Reviewed by Leslie Fiedler*

"History of Modern Painting: From Picasso to Surrealism"
Reviewed by S. Lane Faison, Jr.

The Knight, Death, and the Devil — *A Poem by Randall Jarrell*

Art by Manny Farber — *Music by B. H. Haggin*

IN LATER ISSUES:

"Communism, Democracy, and Catholic Power" by Paul Blanshard
Reviewed by Norman Thomas

"Dictionary of Americanisms" — *Reviewed by Randall Jarrell*

"The Watch" by Carlo Levi — *Reviewed by Frances Keene*

"Soviet Russian Literature, 1917-1950" by Gleb Struve
Reviewed by Hubert Creekmore

"Defense Without Inflation" by Albert G. Hart
Reviewed by J. Kenneth Gailbraith

"The Novel in France" by Martin Turnell — *Reviewed by Ernest Jones*

"U. S. A. The Permanent Revolution" by the Editors of Fortune
Reviewed by Oscar Handlin

Reviews of fiction by Irving Howe, Harvey Swados, and others

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

THE Nation

AMERICA'S LEADING LIBERAL WEEKLY SINCE 1865

VOLUME 172 NEW YORK • SATURDAY • JUNE 9, 1951 NUMBER 23

The Shape of Things

IN SPITE OF DENIALS FROM OFFICIALS ON ALL sides, peace talk persists. General Van Fleet's announcement that the "pursuit phase" of the fighting was over and that the Eighth Army would from now on defend South Korea from attack rather than take the offensive may have had only tactical significance, as Secretary Acheson and the Defense Department emphasized. Just the same, by setting a limit to U. N. military intentions it creates a new situation, which at least offers the basis for a cease-fire on the Thirty-eighth Parallel if the Chinese are willing to consider one. There is, to be sure, a catch in it. Mr. Acheson, in his testimony before the Russell committee last Friday, indicated as he has done before that the United States would not permit either Formosa or Chinese representation in the U. N. to be used as bargaining points in negotiations for a cease-fire. It is possible, however, that a strictly military truce might be arranged without directly involving any political issues. These could be fought out in the negotiations for a general settlement which would follow, although the Chinese would probably have to be reassured as to this in advance, and also as to the composition of the negotiating body.

*

SINCE GENERAL VAN FLEET ISSUED HIS statement, several other hopeful moves have been made. The British government is rumored to be pressing for a new approach to Peking. U. N. Secretary General Trygve Lie and Norway's chief delegate, Arne Sunde, have called for fresh efforts to end the war, and it is understood that an official of the U. N. who recently visited Korea, took with him certain proposals that had been approved in Washington. And while Mr. Malik has denied that Russia ever sent out any peace feelers, the facts are known to be otherwise, and the denial itself may be a "tactical" maneuver. But perhaps the most promising development of the past week was Mr. Acheson's reinterpretation of the famous Assembly resolution of October 7 which called for U. N. action to bring about a unified, free, and rehabilitated Korea. This resolution was regarded in the United States—by officials and the press—as a directive, or at least a green light, to General MacArthur to cross the Thirty-eighth Parallel and drive on toward the Manchurian-Russian frontier. Unification was taken to mean unification by conquest of North Korea. This has been the consistent American interpretation ever since; on it has rested the justification of our whole Korean strategy. Now Mr. Acheson has quite simply erased it, declaring that the unification of Korea is, of course, still a purpose but not necessarily a military one; it could be achieved by political means, after the fighting stopped. Coupled with the Van Fleet statement, this may turn out to be the most significant thing said about the Korean struggle.

*

THE DISCUSSION ABOUT FORMOSA, WAS significant in quite a different way. Testimony on this ticklish topic centered around the question of "declassifying" the controversial State Department memorandum sent to overseas information officers in December, 1949, telling them to minimize the military importance of Formosa to the United States in case the island, as was then expected, fell to the Communists. This document, of course, was allowed to leak out to the press in Tokyo, and most of its contents were made known to the public. Mr. Acheson, however, opposed its release by the committee. It was, he insisted, not a statement of policy; our desire even then was to keep Formosa out of unfriendly hands if this was possible without the use of force. The memorandum was no more than a directive as to the propaganda line our officials and the Voice of America should adopt if the need arose. To release it would be to give the Russians a chance to attack our propaganda as false. However, it was released, but any bad effect it may have will certainly be topped by the release of the colloquy that preceded it. Other bits of testimony have exposed more important facts—for example, General Vandenberg's incredible revelations about the present state of American air power—but the wrangle over the publication of Mr. Acheson's memorandum provided the world with a startlingly intimate glimpse into our government's cold-war strategy, the purposes behind it, the limitations on our power and the tricks we use to conceal those limitations, and above all the political motives that force these revelations even against the public interest. The whole thing was like a bad play staged by people who didn't know there was an audience.

*

UNTIL THIS WEEK THE SITUATION IN IRAN seemed to be building up for a violent explosion. The government was ready to discuss oil sales and other technical matters with the "former" Anglo-Iranian Oil

The Charles C. Sherrod Library
EAST TENNESSEE STATE COLLEGE
Johnson City, Tennessee

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

• IN THIS ISSUE •

EDITORIALS

The Shape of Things 529

Two-Way Embargo 532

ARTICLES

America's Rotten Boroughs *by Willard Shelton* 533

Clear Thinking on Russia *by J. Alvarez del Vayo* 534

Peking Puzzle *by Andrew Roth* 535

The Gaullist Threat *by Alexander Werth* 537

Mob Rule in Crossville *by Marley Cole* 539

BOOKS AND THE ARTS

Will France Rise Again? *by J. Salwyn Schapiro* 542

A Poet's Letters *by Irving Howe* 543

A Decisive Failure *by Rayford W. Logan* 544

End of a World *by Harvey Swados* 545

In Many Directions *by Robert Halsband* 545

Records *by B. H. Haggin* 546

LETTER TO THE EDITORS 548

CROSSWORD PUZZLE No. 416

by Frank W. Lewis opposite 548

Editor and Publisher: Freda Kirchwey

Executive Editor: Harold C. Field

Foreign Editor J. Alvarez del Vayo — *Literary Editor* Margaret Marshall

Financial Editor: Keith Hutchison

Associate Editor: Carey McWilliams

Washington Editor: Willard Shelton

Drama: Joseph Wood Krutch *Music:* B. H. Haggin

Copy Editor: Gladys Whiteside

Assistant Literary Editor: Caroline Whiting

Staff Contributors

Andrew Roth, Alexander Werth, Howard K. Smith, Carolus

Business Manager: Hugo Van Arx

Advertising Manager: Mary Simon

Director of Nation Associates: Lillie Shultz

The Nation, published weekly and copyright, 1951, in the U. S. A. by The Nation Associates, Inc., 20 Vesey Street, New York 7, N. Y. Entered as second-class matter, December 13, 1879, at the Post Office of New York, N. Y., under the act of March 3, 1879. Advertising and Circulation Representative for Continental Europe: Publicitas.

Subscription Prices: Domestic—One year $7; Two years $12; Three years $17. Additional postage per year: Foreign and Canadian $1.

Change of Address: Three weeks' notice is required for change of address, which cannot be made without the old address as well as the new.

Information to Libraries: The Nation is indexed in Readers' Guide to Periodical Literature, Book Review Digest, Index to Labor Articles, Public Affairs Information Service, Dramatic Index.

Company; the question of taking it over under the terms of the oil-nationalization law could not even be raised. Legally the transfer had occurred; only the physical details remained to be settled. President Truman's personal message, calling attention to the dangers involved in precipitate action and urging last-minute negotiations, had apparently made no impression on Premier Mossadegh. But on Monday the picture suddenly changed. The company offered to send representatives to discuss matters with the government, and the government chose to regard this move as indicating "acceptance of Iran's taking over" of the company. Apparently both the Shah and United States Ambassador Grady had a hand in bringing about the talk, which at least postpones the hour of actual dispossession. What must be hoped as negotiations begin is that the British have not only conceded the "principle" of nationalization but are prepared to cooperate in a real if gradual process of transferring the operation of the oil company to the Iran government. If Iranian oil is essential to British security, it is no more so than evidence that the Labor government has accepted the implications of the nationalist revolution sweeping across Asia and the Middle East. Even self-interest dictates that Britain's role should be to mitigate as far as possible the dangers and difficulties that are bound to accompany this change rather than to raise legal obstacles to its achievement. The moderation so far shown by London offers real hope that this will be the official view.

✳

IN THE WAKE OF THE SUPREME COURT'S decision on "fair trade," New York City consumers enjoyed their first real break in years. On May 29 came the announcement, as refreshing as the rain that failed to keep crowds of shoppers from the stores, that Macy's had cut prices 6 per cent on 5,978 "fair-traded" items. In a matter of hours a wave of price reductions had swept through the larger retail outlets. By noon Macy's had run out of aspirin and its crowded aisles gave the appearance of Christmas in June. By the day's end, a third round of price cuts had been ordered and prices had been reduced as much as 40 per cent on some items. A survey made on June 1 showed that retailers in twelve cities had not yet joined the price war but were nervously watching the battle of the giants in New York. With sales slow and super-high inventories, many retailers seemed to be relieved that the break had come, while most manufacturers were obviously reluctant to take counter measures until inventories had been whittled down. To date, however, the limited price-cutting that has taken place resembles a sparring match more than a full scale "war." A summer-time flurry, it has given the Office of Price Stabilization a welcome breathing spell by setting off a temporary deflationary under-current in the midst of an armament economy. Furious over the

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

break that has taken place, the fair-trade lobby will doubtless launch a new drive to "repair" the Miller-Tydings Act by exempting fair-trade agreements from the anti-trust laws. In the meantime, new forms of price maintenance are likely to appear in the guise of compliance with price-freeze regulations.

*

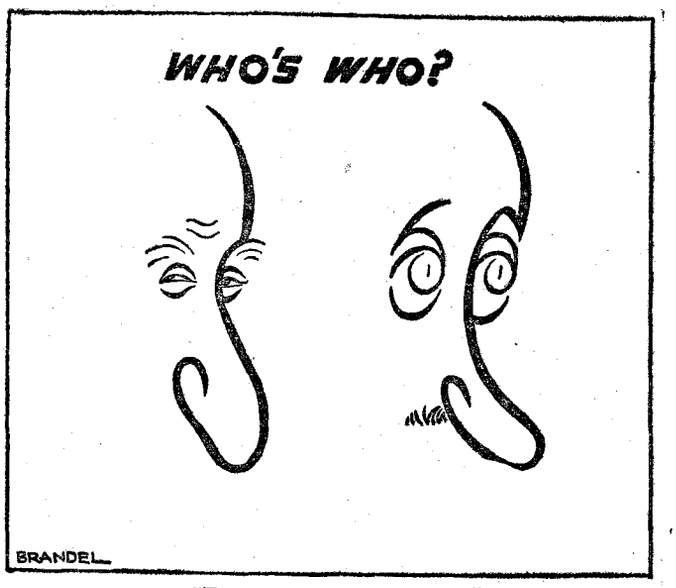
LITTLE BY LITTLE THE STORY OF THE RECENT presidential "election" in Liberia has reached this country—but not with any help from our Department of State, which is vague in admitting information about what happened and extremely self-righteous in reasserting its policy of non-intervention in another nation's domestic affairs. The story is simple: for the first time in the country's history an indigenous Liberian leader, Didwo Twe, nominated by an opposition party, has a good chance to overthrow the True Whig Party, controlled by descendants of American Negroes resettled in Africa. So President William Tubman, running for reelection as the True Whig candidate, got rid of the opposition. According to a report signed by eighty-two native Liberians, the Tubman-controlled senate first refused to probate the charter of Twe's Popular Party. When the Popular and Reformation Parties then tried to place Twe's name on the ballot by petition, Tubman's police arrested and terrorized the people circulating the petitions. Their homes were searched, property was seized, and Twe himself was forced into hiding by rumors of his impending arrest. For the record, and *Time* magazine to the contrary notwithstanding, Twe never "withdrew" from the presidential race; he was denied a place on the ballot by terrorism and manipulation of the election machinery. In short, Liberia, an African republic sponsored by the United States, is still a one-party state in which opposition is stifled. To its discredit, the State Department apparently considers the whole matter unimportant.

*

TEXAS STATE EMPLOYEES, RANGING FROM porters to college presidents, will have a new loyalty oath to sign as of September 1. Not content with the existing affidavit simply pledging that an employee is not a member of any organization advocating overthrow of the government, Texas legislators have now set up an elaborate three-part oath. In the future, before an employee can draw a state pay check, he must swear that he is not, and has never been, a member of the Communist Party; that he is not, and has not in the last ten years been, a member of any organization on the United States Attorney General's "subversive" list; that he is not, and has not in the last ten years been, a member of any Communist political or Communist front organization registered under the Federal Internal Security Act. The retroactive provisions may force a number of state college and university faculty members out of their jobs, but before that happens there will probably be a legal test of the oath—a vital test in view of the recent Supreme Court decision disputing the validity of the Attorney General's list.

*

THE AMERICAN VETERANS' COMMITTEE LAST week held its fifth national convention. More than five hundred delegates from all parts of the country met in New York City for a week-end of hard work, minus water pistols and horseplay. Remembering their history of hothouse growth and swift retreat, they concentrated on plans for A. V. C.'s future growth but also gave earnest attention to foreign and domestic problems. The delegates stated their opposition to Treasury raids and grab-bag legislation for veterans and reaffirmed their belief in a veterans' program looking toward "rehabilitation and reintegration [of the ex-soldier] into the community." They indorsed a strong civil-rights program, urged the implementation of the Public Housing Act of 1949, and advocated the draft during the immediate crisis and price and rent control. The A. V. C. also came out for complete world disarmament, with effective international inspections. It agreed that the non-Communist world must strengthen itself militarily to meet the threat of aggression but insisted that the long-range goal of "international cooperative efforts to stamp out hunger, disease, illiteracy, and misunderstanding" required economic, political, and spiritual strengthening. Pointing out that "the Spanish people [in recent strikes] have proved that they are ready to rid themselves of their oppressive ruler," the delegates opposed further aid to Franco and asked that "all possible aid . . . be given to the people of Spain in their efforts toward freedom." Finally, they condemned MacArthur's policy and acclaimed his dismissal as reaffirming the principle of civilian supremacy. The convention, in fact, gave confirmation of the A. V. C.'s continuing devotion to its slogan: Citizens First, Veterans Second.



[For answer see page 532]

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Two-Way Embargo

TRADE relations between the western world and the Soviet sphere have recently been the subject of heated debate in Washington. The instinct of many, perhaps most, Americans is to break off all economic intercourse and this emotional reaction has been reflected in bitter speeches on Capitol Hill where Britain and other countries have been sharply attacked for trading with the enemy. Now Congress has approved an amendment to an appropriation bill designed to bar American aid to any country that ships strategic goods behind the iron curtain.

One difficulty about enforcing this policy is that of definition. Practically all goods have direct or indirect strategic value, a fact illustrated by the recent refusal of the Department of Commerce to license large shipments of combs and fountain pens to Hongkong on the grounds that they were probably destined for China where they could be used as "incentive goods" to spur production. Carried to its logical conclusion this latest move by Congress would penalize almost all sales to Communist nations.

Trade with the Soviet bloc has little significance for this country. Now that we have found alternative sources of manganese, there are no essential raw materials for which we must reach behind the iron curtain. But many other countries are not in so happy a situation. They rely on Soviet sources for vital foods and raw materials which they can obtain elsewhere, if at all, only at much greater expense or by drawing on their scanty stock of dollars. Yet if they refuse to sell to Communist countries, they cannot hope to buy there.

For instance, Western Europe as a whole produces insufficient coal for its own needs. In part its deficit is made up by the import of 10 million tons annually from Poland, much of it high quality coking coal. The Polish government is well aware of the value of this bargaining counter and is not prepared to trade its coal purely against consumer goods: it insists on receiving in exchange machinery and raw materials which have at least potential military value. Deprived of this coal some Western European industries, including arms manufacture, would be handicapped unless shipping could be found for an alternative supply from this country. But that would be about twice as costly and would have to be paid for in dollars. Would Congress be willing to meet part of this additional burden?

Although East-West trade is now well below its prewar level, it is still of real importance to Europe. Italy buys large quantities of wheat from Russia and pays for it in part with industrial machinery. Britain has been selling to the U. S. S. R. considerable amounts of electrical and other industrial equipment: in return it obtains one-fifth of its lumber and one-third of its coarse grain requirements. Western Germany, as United States High Commissioner John J. McCloy recently acknowledged, must carry on a modicum of trade with the Soviet zone and, if it is to import from there the goods it needs, it cannot restrict sales entirely to strategically harmless commodities. Thus in its exchanges with countries behind the iron curtain Western Europe must consider the balance of advantage: in seeking to weaken the Soviet bloc economically, it must endeavor to stop short of the point where it suffers equal or worse damage.

THE same common-sense rule should apply in the Far East even though the fact that Americans and their allies are being killed because of Chinese aggression gives a much stronger emotional impact to demands for a total embargo. Since last December the United States has banned all trade with North Korea and China but at the same time it has recognized that it would be folly to impose similar restrictions on Japan which actually increased its exports to China in the second half of 1950. For Japan needs to buy from China such commodities as soy-beans, coal, and iron-ore.

The British colony of Hongkong, frequently pictured in this country as a nest of profiteers fattening on sales of war materials to our enemies, is almost totally dependent on trade with China. It obtains a considerable part of its food from China and if supplies were cut off, or if a decline in trade led to severe unemployment, it would face serious internal trouble. Moreover, the colony is strategically vulnerable and the Peking government might well decide to attack it if it ceased to be useful as a gateway to the outside world. In that case, we would have to decide either to go to the aid of its garrison or to advise the British to evacuate—a move which would give a tremendous boost to the prestige of Mao's regime.

Despite its difficulties, the government of Hongkong has stopped all exports of oil to China since last July and has imposed a total prohibition of sales of some 200 industrial products of military value. And now the British government, acting both there and in Malaya, has cut off all shipments of rubber. In addition, Britain supported the recent resolution of the United Nations General Assembly which recommended that all nations ban shipments to China of military goods and materials useful to arms production.

The question then is: should we go still further? Should we put pressure on other countries to impose a total embargo on trade with China? If this is to be our policy we ought to be prepared to face the consequences and the cost of alleviating them as far as possible. For a trade embargo is a two-edged weapon which may inflict wounds on the enemy but is also certain to harm our friends and allies.

Answer to Who's Who?—Jimmy Durante and Robert Schuman

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

America's Rotten Boroughs

BY WILLARD SHELTON

Washington, May 31

A HOUSE subcommittee headed by Representative William T. Byrne of New York will open hearings in California on June 11 on the Celler bill, designed to end the "rotten-borough" system under which many Congressmen are now elected. By a widespread rural gerrymander, there has been created in this country a condition similar to the odious "rotten-borough" system of nineteenth-century England. In recent decades especially, the growing populations of the cities have been denied a voice equal to that of rural voters in the House of Representatives. The Celler bill is intended to eliminate this inequity.

The disproportionate rural strength explains in large part the failure of Congress to support domestic-reform proposals of New Deal and Fair Deal Presidents. Despite the increase in urban populations, state legislatures have refused to revise their Congressional districts to give greater representation to the larger groups of voters in the cities. Thus while Roosevelt and Truman won majorities in five Presidential elections, these same majorities were not able consistently to elect Congresses supporting Presidential policies. It is obvious that many Congressional districts do not today reflect shifts in population and in economic interest.

For example, in Ohio the 1940 census revealed that there were 698,000 people in the Twenty-second (Cleveland) Congressional District represented by Mrs. Frances Bolton, but only 163,000 people in the rural Fifth District represented by Cliff Clevenger. According to the 1950 census, the Twenty-second District has now grown to 908,000 people. But the state legislature has not revised Congressional districts since 1913.

In California, to cite another example, the state legislature has just passed a law revising the old districts and creating seven new ones, to which the state is entitled because of population growth since 1940. But the law perpetuates the principles of the gerrymander; the new districts are grossly unequal in population and in some cases are carved out along jigsaw lines to give political advantages to favored Congressmen.

Under the new law there will be twelve Congressional districts in Los Angeles County. Seven of these, described by local authorities as "workers' districts," average 416,000 in population; five other "silk-stocking districts" average only 246,000 in population. The districts of four liberal incumbent Democratic Congressmen have been jiggered and redrawn so as to create a maximum of trouble for these Representatives. Again the blame for the abuse can be attributed to a rural bloc which controls the gerrymandered California state legislature.

It would be naive to imagine that rotten boroughs can be eliminated completely in a political system as fiercely partisan as ours; Democrats as well as Republicans indulge in the gerrymander whenever they have the power. But the House of Representatives, as the popularly elected branch of Congress, is supposed to reflect actual population groups; a check against abuses by majorities exists in the Senate. The Celler bill, which is backed by the Administration, would end the discrimination in the House against city voters by reincorporating into the law two simple principles long recognized as essential to popular democracy:

1. All districts within a state should be approximately equal in population. With the present 435 seats in the House of Representatives, this would give each district about 350,000 people. The Celler bill would permit a maximum variation of 15 per cent above or below this figure, and violation of the statute would automatically bar from office a Representative elected in a non-complying district.

2. District boundaries should be drawn, as far as possible, along straight lines and should be composed of compact and contiguous territory. This would reduce to a minimum the jigsawing of district lines to give advantages to one party or another.

For many generations—from 1842 through 1911, in fact—each Congressional reapportionment of seats among the states, following the decennial census, contained clauses embodying the ideas Celler is now trying to revive. The clauses were not self-enforcing and were sometimes ignored by the states, but the basic doctrines were acknowledged. Through some quirk, the key clauses were inadvertently omitted when the late Senator Vandenberg led a successful fight in 1929 to provide automatic reapportionment of seats among the states after each census. Vandenberg intended this as a reform measure; Congress had failed to reapportion after the 1920 census.

SINCE 1930, when the evil effects of the rural gerrymander began to be noted, there have been numerous appeals to the courts for relief. In 1947 a suit against unequal Congressional districting in Illinois was carried to the Supreme Court. Three Cook County (Chicago) citizens complained that while their county had more than 52 per cent of the state's population, it had but nine Congressional seats as against sixteen for downstate Illinois. Their demand that the Supreme Court invalidate the ancient law perpetuating this division was rejected by a four-to-three vote. But the effect was to lose an opportunity to lay down the enforceable legal principle that the right to vote includes the right to have each vote counted at equal weight.

The best chance of restoring the House of Representatives to its intended constitutional position lies in the

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Celler bill. As a result of population shifts between 1940 and 1950, several states in addition to California are entitled to an increase in their representation; several others, including New York and Pennsylvania, will lose seats in the House. No doubt some members from small districts will hesitate to support the Celler bill; to do so might be equivalent to voting themselves out of office. But if enough public sentiment is aroused, the bill can be passed in time to take effect before the next election.

Clear Thinking on Russia

BY J. ALVAREZ DEL VAYO

THE entire issue of peace or war that weighs so heavily on every human being would become easier to understand, and perhaps to bear, if it were possible to reestablish a degree of clear thinking about Russia. Of all areas of thought in our time Russia is without question the most "sensitive." The moment the name Russia is pronounced, most people become either frankly hostile or naively hopeful. The reasons are easy to define: sincere aversion to the diplomatic methods of the Soviet Union; actual fear of being classified as pro-Russians; accumulated hate and resentment, particularly on the part of those former members or ideological slaves of the Communist Party who now dedicate themselves to depreciating the thing they adored. (I am speaking here of Russia's foreign policy and therefore do not refer to other reasons, many of them legitimate, related to the international situation.) On the other hand, a rapprochement between East and West cannot be advanced by an attitude of unconditional support of every Moscow move.

A certain amount of confusion about Russia is inevitable. Even intelligent persons cannot help being puzzled after reviewing the testimony of the country's highest military leaders before the Russell committee, or after reading the leading columnists—for example, the brothers Alsop. On Monday, the Kremlin is described as ready to advance its armed forces against the non-Communist world by next Wednesday, but on Wednesday, Russia is represented as torn by dissensions and by threat of revolts in the satellite countries and as incapable of matching America's increasing strength. On Tuesday, Russia is supposed to be gratified by the absorption of American military power in Korea while keeping Communist China and North Korea firmly under its thumb lest they show any inclination to negotiate. On Thursday, Stalin is reported to have spread peace feelers around the world "behind the backs of the Chinese," in an effort to end the war before Russia is forced to come to the assistance of its exigent ally. The prognosis, on Friday, is war in the autumn of 1951, a season favorable for a Russian advance when the well-nigh impassable barrier of the Russian winter would make a Western counter-attack out of the question. But on Sunday a breathing spell is granted: Russia will obligingly withhold attack until 1954, when the West will have rearmed and will be ready to deliver a knock-out blow.

I suggest the urgent need of greater coherence. The issue is too big and the enemy, should Russia ever take the initiative of going to war, too formidable to permit such frivolous conjectures. The situation demands a continuous objective consideration of such questions as the inevitability of war with Russia; what facts, if any, indicate Russia's readiness to strike first; why, if the Kremlin wants war, it should wait until 1954, since, according to the consensus of European military opinion, Russia could easily conquer Europe now, despite atom bombs; and the most interesting question of all—what will be the real balance of strength in 1954, assuming the potential warmakers wait that long? This last item, together with the important question of offering an alternative to war through a vast and imaginative plan of reciprocal trade agreements and reconstruction programs, is surely a most fascinating subject for a Great Debate—but only under the condition that Russia is treated objectively and not as a supernatural phenomenon beyond our power of analysis.

One need not idealize Russia's foreign policy, which, especially in regard to Germany, offers abundant ground for criticism, to say that existing facts do give us some hope for a negotiated settlement such as that proposed in the remarkable Quaker report, "Steps to Peace." I would like, even though only summarily, to recapitulate those facts.

The first is that in spite of America's full-speed rearmament program, the Russians are not, as far as we know, forcing their own at an equally accelerated pace. If the Russians were contemplating a drive across Europe, they would surely give military preparations preference over a domestic recovery program. The budget report of the Soviet Finance Minister, A. G. Zverev, indicates that Russia's defense expenditures in 1951 will increase 2.7 per cent, which does not suggest feverish war preparations. Today the entire Soviet press is filled with reports about increased consumer production and forecasts of sensational price cuts. The second fact is that neither in Korea, where the Russians could easily have supplied enough weapons to put the United Nations forces in a difficult spot, nor in Yugoslavia, despite Moscow's undoubted desire to crush Tito, nor in Iran, where conditions seem to invite a *coup de surprise*, has Stalin acted as Hitler would have acted under the same tempting circumstances.

In Iran, British observers have gained the impression that the Russians are not so anxious to take forcible measures under the Russian-Iranian treaty of 1921. In Germany, the Kremlin has not, for example, given any encouragement to the cynical overtures of Western neo-

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Nazis, such as the Socialist Reichs Party. (The S. R. P. is alleged to have declared that it would "act as traffic controller for the Russians if they marched into the West.") And in spite of the use of cold-war tactics in the Palais Rose, Mr. Gromyko has still left the way open for a Foreign Ministers' conference.

I am convinced that the most dangerous mistake Western leaders could make would be to assume without question that Russia needs and intends war. Suppose the Kremlin, on the contrary, believes that time will make war unnecessary, producing either revolutionary change in Western Europe or a favorable settlement. This is obviously a possibility that should be considered, for if it should be true, or if Europeans should be persuaded that it is true, no power on earth could keep Europe in an arms race, especially at the price of hunger.

Peking Puzzle

BY ANDREW ROTH

London

A RECENT request for information from Washington by Kenneth Younger, Britain's Under Secretary for Foreign Affairs, may add a vital piece to an incomplete "Peking Puzzle." It is a puzzle involving a wrecked power station, a Chinese secret society, the Chinese Communist purge, American and British agents, and perhaps even the recall of General MacArthur.

Only a portion of the story came out in the great March trial in Peking, which was so reminiscent of the tumbrel-and-guillotine days of the French Revolution. On that highly dramatic occasion, twenty-five persons were brought before an assembly of over 5,000 "people's representatives" in order to give the people a meaningful part in the intensified purge of "counter-revolutionaries" ordered by the Peking government on February 22. Wang Pei-shuan, director of Peking's Military Tribunal, addressed them: "The military tribunal has completed the trials of these counter-revolutionary criminals and has all the evidence in hand. But, because it is a big case, we want to talk it over with you."

Then tall, muscular Peng Chen, former director of the Communist Party school in Yenan and now mayor of Peking, took over. Seventeen people were brought on to the stage and pointed accusing fingers at the prisoners. They charged the prisoners with such crimes as robbery, arson, machine-gunning of workers, and attempted revolt. "You have heard about these unspeakably evil people," Peng roared to the assembly, as the accusers walked off-stage. "How shall we deal with them, comrades?"

Shouted the assembly: "Shoot them!"

Asked Peng sarcastically: "Should we not still be lenient with these people?"

Assembly: "No! No!"

Peng: Don't you think it is too cruel to shoot these special agents, ruffians, bandit leaders, and reactionary religious leaders?"

Assembly: "No! It's not cruel!"

Peng: "Of course it's not cruel. Instead, it's merciful. Comrades, who is right, they or we?"

Assembly: "We are right!"

Peng: "Comrades, thanks for your trust. We promise to act according to your will. Our main shortcoming has been too great mercy and too reluctant suppression."

Assembly: "Hail the People's Government! Long live Chairman Mao!"

The "reactionary religious leaders" shot as a result of this example of "revolutionary justice" were leaders of the Yi Kuan Tao, one of North China's most powerful secret societies. The secret society has long played as vital a role in Chinese society as the "machine" in American city politics. Traditionally the purpose of these societies has been to protect their members' property against public disorder or the exactions of public officials. Although usually surrounded by an aura of mystic symbols, the societies have used professional thugs to obtain their ends and have often drawn their income from the protection of brothels, gambling houses, and the like. The combination of respectable membership and underworld contacts gives them a striking resemblance to the American political deals and associations uncovered by the Kefauver committee.

Chinese secret societies have always been intensely political. In the past, they helped to overthrow several dynasties by giving a lead to discontent. The Kuomintang itself originated as a secret society. Chiang Kai-shek owes much of his rise to the Green Society of Tu Yueh-sen which grew fat on the opium trade and extended its tentacles into many areas of Chinese life.

The Yi Kuan Tao society is a rather recent development. Although its leaders claim Buddha as its founder, it was started only forty-odd years ago in Shantung Province. It has utilized certain Buddhist principles but relied primarily upon fake spiritualism to build up its

ANDREW ROTH is a staff contributor who was in Peking when the Communists captured that city.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

appeal. Like the Caodaist sect in Indo-China it has claimed to be able to transmit the "word of God" to its followers. And almost inevitably followers got a commendatory "word" only when they had made a substantial contribution to the society. The contributions rolled in from tens of thousands of credulous Chinese seeking a way out of the difficulties of life in the midst of civil war and rampant inflation. In Peking alone, the society is believed to have had 100,000 members at one time, and its branches extended throughout the country.

With such widespread influence the leaders of the Yi Kuan Tao could naturally be of considerable assistance to political organizations without popular roots. During the Japanese occupation the leader of the Yi Kuan Tao, the late Chang Kuang-pi, became adviser to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Jap-sponsored Wang Ching-wei regime at Nanking. Its Peking leader, Chang Wu-fu, was appointed adviser to the Japanese gendarmerie there.

After Japan's defeat, the Yi Kuan Tao's leader made a quick shift, offering their services to the Kuomintang in the battle against the Communists whom they recognized as their deadly enemies. By 1947, the Yi Kuan Tao's secret organization was supplying Chiang with information from the Communist-controlled areas.

When the Communists took Peking in January, 1949, they banned the Yi Kuan Tao and similar secret societies. Themselves experts in underground organization, they realized the danger presented by these powerful organizations. Apparently the Yi Kuan Tao cloaked its activities well enough to survive for a while.

In those early days of Communist control in Peking it was patent that the Kuomintang had left behind at least some sort of rumor organization. It was amazing how certain stories, designed to discredit Communist strength, would sweep the city like wildfire, despite the Communist press monopoly. One of the rumors which made Peking people perk up their ears in February, 1949, was: "General MacArthur has landed in Manchuria in command of a Japanese army!"

These tales were not nearly so disconcerting to the Communist security forces as the wrecking of one of Peking's power stations by an explosion in September, 1949, and the burning of fifty-nine of its trolley cars. September was a particularly embarrassing month to have such incidents occur because it marked the beginning of the People's Political Consultative Conference which in October proclaimed the Chinese People's Republic. The Communists suppressed reports of this sabotage and their secret political police intensified their search for the culprits. Following up a number of leads they are said to have found that one Yi Kuan Tao leader had begun a "Communist Elimination Committee" in 1948. At least one other, they decided, had joined the Kuomintang secret police under the late General Tai Li in 1947. Former disciples who had sought police protection helped in these investigations. The Communists refrained from arresting suspects because they wanted to uproot the whole secret organization at once, and because they hoped to trace it back to the Kuomintang and still farther to the Americans.

China's entry into the Korean war intensified both the Yi Kuan Tao's rumor activity and police pressure against it. "The Atom Bomb Will Soon Be Dropped!" "The Kuomintang Will Land Soon!" "The Americans Will Win in Korea!" were some of the stories circulated. The Communist political police, ordered in September to intensify their roundup of "spies, special agents, and rumor-mongers," began a campaign against the Yi Kuan Tao. Chu Tsan, the Buddhist representative in the Political Consultative Conference, wrote in the Peking *People's Daily* last December 26, a denunciation of the Yi Kuan Tao, saying that "it is not a sect of our religion but is used by the counter-revolutionaries to take advantage of the name of Buddha and some of our principles to carry out vicious propaganda work." In January, some 120 leading members of the society were jailed. On January 17 six of the top leaders were shot after being tried by the Peking Military Tribunal. Apart from alleged individual misdeeds, they were accused of planning an "armed rising" against the government.

At "accusation meetings," which the Communists held in most of the localities of Peking, former disciples told how they had been hoodwinked. Another group of Yi Kuan Tao leaders were included in the great public trial of twenty-five "counter-revolutionaries" in March, and were subsequently shot.

The charge that these secret society leaders were "United States-Chiang Kai-shek agents" might have passed off as just another Communist exaggeration if it were not for a Voice of America broadcast. This broadcast, relayed by the B. B. C. from London on April 14, claimed that the United States is already fighting China not only frontally in Korea but by helping guerrillas and saboteurs within China proper. "It is one of the openest secrets here," this State Department-sponsored broadcast quoted from an article by Joseph C. Harsch in the *Christian Science Monitor* of April 10, "that both British and American agents have maintained contact with resistance forces in South China from the first days and that aid to such forces has been flowing by various channels for many months." By implication the broadcast linked the wrecking of the power plant with the activities of the foreign agents.

This broadcast created a small storm in Britain. After several complaints from constituents, M. P. Tom Driberg wrote to the Foreign Office to inquire whether British agents were actually engaged in supporting or directing anti-Communist guerrillas in mainland China. Kenneth Younger, Under Secretary of State for Foreign

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Affairs, voiced his "dismay" at the allegation in which he said there was "no truth . . . as far as the United Kingdom is concerned."

In the course of investigating this complaint a number of Foreign Office officials have been surprised to learn how far the United States has gone in helping saboteurs and guerrillas on the Chinese mainland. Of course it had been known that the last American budget included tremendous amounts for intelligence activities and other secret operations. But it had not been realized how much of this has been spent in China, and for what purposes. In fact, there is some hint that one of the secondary causes for General MacArthur's dismissal was a disagreement about how broadly one can interpret "intelligence activities." Washington apparently felt it was legitimate to dispatch intelligence agents to China from Formosa and Hongkong, but drew the line at equipping expeditions of saboteurs and guerrillas.

The Gaullist Threat

BY ALEXANDER WERTH

Paris, June 1

THE election posters are just beginning to go up, but most of the candidates have not yet had theirs printed. The delay is due to the fact that it wasn't until May 26 that the *apparentements* (expedient coalitions to assure seats under the electoral law) in the various French constituencies were officially announced. They contain relatively few surprises. As was provided by the new law, the Paris area will vote on the basis of proportional representation. In the rest of France some 15 out of the 90 departments—each department being usually a single multi-member constituency—will have no *apparentements* and, failing a 50 per cent majority by any party, will also have proportional representation. In most of the other departments there will be either a narrow "association" of the Third Force parties proper (Socialists, M. R. P., and Radicals) or a larger "association" stretching all the way from the Socialists to the extreme non-Gaullist right. Finally, there will be some fifteen constituencies where the Gaullists will be "associated" with either the so-called right-wing Independents (many of them Gaullists in disguise) or, in a few cases, with the M. R. P. or the Radicals. In a number of instances the Gaullists rejected overtures from others: the most notable case was that of Foreign Minister Schuman, who was flatly turned down by the Gaullists to whom he had offered an "anti-Red alliance." In other constituencies it was the Gaullists who were snubbed by the "moderate" coalition. This shows that there is still a good deal of faith in the Third Force which, for all its faults, stands at least for one positive thing: the preservation in France of a certain vital minimum of political liberty which is part of the French way of life.

It is too early to attempt any serious forecasts of the election results, or to say in how many departments P. R. will go into effect when "associations" fail to get their 50 per cent. The answer depends on many factors. How will the women vote? As in England reactions to the mounting price of meat are of paramount importance. Also, how many of the habitual non-voters, on whom De Gaulle largely relies, will be persuaded to vote this time? Forecasts vary from those who say that the new Assembly will be even more governable than the last one, with no proper working majority of any kind, to those who prophesy that the swing will be so much to the right that the Socialists will go into opposition. This would leave it to a right-center coalition, with or without Gaullist participation, to clean up the appalling financial mess with which *any* new government will be faced. If hyper-inflation is to be avoided, some form of a supplementary budget will have to be passed by the new Assembly in order to cope with the present deficit estimated at between 600 and 800 billion francs. For, before the election, the Assembly was more reluctant than ever to introduce any unpopular financial measures, and tax officials were even instructed not to be hard on any taxpayer during the election period.

What of De Gaulle himself, the biggest unknown quantity in this election? He is starting on his election tour in the south this week, working his way up to the north, and holding one or two meetings a day in various cities. The big factor in favor of his Rassemblement du Peuple Français (R. P. F.) is that it has an impressive figure, which is more than any party, except the Communists can boast of—and Thorez is, for the present, available only in effigy, his sick body still being in the care of Soviet physicians. But, except for a small semi-hysterical minority of a kind one would find in any country, it would be wrong to suppose that De Gaulle is "adored" in the manner of Hitler or Mussolini. His personality is cold and far from "magnetic." The fact that he surrounds himself with a certain aura of mystery, is seldom seen in public, and often speaks in riddles cuts both ways. There are those who are convinced of his determi-

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

nation to stamp out the Republic, and are therefore willing to give him *carte blanche;* but there are also those who, while ultra-conservative in temperament fear his accession to power might lead to some highly dangerous adventures, both internally and internationally.

DE GAULLE'S following is an extremely mixed one. It includes countless middle-class grousers; it includes people who will vote for De Gaulle rather than for any tricky *apparentement;* but above all, Gaullism will rally the not inconsiderable anti-parliamentary, Vichyite elements among the middle class (the R. P. F. is, among other things, the great amnesty party), the survivors and successors of the pre-war Action Française, the Croix de Feu, and the like, and, finally, the groups most acutely terrified of the Communists and of the Soviet Union.

Appearances may be deceptive; but it does not look as if France is on the eve of a *coup d'état* or that revolutionary passions are acutely inflamed. The Communists have been sounding the alarm over the simple fact that the election has been fixed for June 17, the day before the Gaullist anniversary celebration. On that day, they say, the more or less victorious Gaullists will hold their victory parade in the Champs Elysées and carry out their *coup d'état.* That outcome, I would say, is only conceivable if De Gaulle won an overwhelming victory, but since this is not likely, what De Gaulle plans is probably not so much a March on Rome as a tactic resembling the Hitler technique of winning power "through Parliament." The parliamentary parties are his bugbear. This does not mean that he intends, as has been suggested by M. Herriot and others, to bring about a one-party system in France. What he may attempt is to dominate through the sheer weight of numbers the whole right and center, including the M. R. P., turn them into obedient tools of the R. P. F., and eventually, by outlawing the Communists, to acquire a complete "legal" hold over an obedient Parliament. He would then change the constitution to provide for some of the following measures:

> Election of the President would be by a vast "national college" comprising, in addition to Parliament, "the representatives of local assemblies and of the country's intellectual and economic activities." The President would appoint the Cabinet. On major questions he would have the right to call for a nation-wide referendum. He would personally negotiate and ratify treaties and merely "inform" Parliament of them. In the event of a conflict arising between the President and Parliament, he would have the right to dissolve the Assembly or submit the cause of conflict to a referendum. The trade unions, in De Gaulle's view, undermine the authority of the state; national trade unions would be prohibited, and replaced by "capital-labor associations" functioning only within the framework of each particular company. These "associations" would "tend to safeguard the workers' welfare." Labor would have representatives in the Assembly electing the President and also on the Economic Council of the Senate.

There is little doubt that such a system would, in fact, amount to a thinly disguised personal dictatorship.

If De Gaulle's home program abounds in obscurities —he says very little about the all-important financial and economic nightmares besetting France—his international program is equally obscure. But a few points emerge: he is against the Communists because they are allowing France to be enslaved by the United States. In view of the close bonds that are known to exist between the Gaullists and the American Republicans, one wonders how much of the latter is pure demagogy. It is certain that there are, among the top Gaullists, numerous generals who like De Gaulle himself, like to talk in terms of building a mighty French army which will help to safeguard "French diplomacy" in international affairs; it is also known that, on a purely sentimental plane, many young Gaullists officers have been offended by the bossy ways of the American army authorities in France. The idea of a semi-Fascist Europe, with France as its nucleus, and with a "strong Germany" as its chief partner, also enters into the Gaullist conception of a happy future. But the Gaullists' strongest views are those held about the French empire. They are opposed to any outside interference. The suggestions made, at the time of the Singapore conference, about the Royal Air Force's participation in the war in Indo-China produced violent resentment in the Gaullist press. It is believed that De Gaulle is strongly opposed to allowing the Americans to establish themselves firmly in North Africa, as this might encourage them to "defend France from the periphery." There is another point about North Africa where the Gaullists are known to have thousands of their "own men" in key positions: they may try to make it their exclusive stronghold, modeling it, in effect, after Malan's South Africa. The strange happenings in Morocco, Algeria, and Tunisia at any rate suggest that some such ideas are in the wind and that Gaullist influence is much stronger there than outsiders suspect.

De Gaulle

How revolutionary is the movement? And will it not

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

frighten away too many voters, as the local elections at Lorient last month, for example, suggested? Here the Gaullists got only 24 per cent of the poll as against 31 per cent in 1949. There is perhaps more than meets the eye in the sudden decision last week of the famous novelist, André Malraux, the most "romantic" and "revolutionary" of the Gaullist candidates, not to run, although his candidacy had been widely proclaimed.

Mob Rule in Crossville

BY MARLEY COLE

FEDD WILEY, JR., was a bright young man of twenty. He earned his B.S. in chemistry in three years and was just starting his fifth month as science instructor at Homesteads High School in Cumberland County, Tennessee. By collecting cast-off clothes' hangers from the dormitories, by hauling passengers to college, by every ingenious gimmick in the book of scrimping and saving, Fedd had managed to maintain his own car all the way through college.

But to Fedd his education, his position, his prestige were incidental to a bigger, all-consuming ideal. Every act of this young man's life was inspired by a burning consecration. He was a minister. He was devoting a minimum of three and one-half hours a day to his ministerial duties, delivering public Bible talks, conducting Bible studies in private homes, calling from house to house to preach the gospel. But unfortunately—from most people's viewpoint—Fedd belonged to a minority religious group. He was a Jehovah's Witness.

When he walked down Main Street of Crossville, the county seat of Cumberland County, early in the morning of Saturday, January 22, 1951, his career as a teacher was about to be shattered and an explosion of mob hysteria touched off that would fill the country with disgust and the newspapers with ugly headlines for days.

He walked past the post office with a white magazine bag hanging from his shoulder on which were the titles *Watchtower* and *Awake!* He crossed the intersection and took his stand on the edge of the sidewalk. This is the town's taxi stand, where all the taxi drivers hang out. Every Saturday morning and afternoon the people of Crossville and Cumberland County could see Fedd or some other of us Witnesses standing on this taxi stand corner, holding aloft copies of the *Watchtower* and *Awake!* or handing out printed invitations to our Sunday Bible lectures held in the Kingdom Hall at the south end of Main Street directly across from Mayor Bill Mayberry's residence.

Like Jehovah's Witnesses everywhere, we were used to having people throw us hard looks and nasty remarks. We were used to people telling us we ought to be run out of town or strung up on a limb. The charge "That's Communist stuff" was not new, either. Ordinarily we just don't pay attention to such reactions. We simply have a job of advertising our faith in God's Kingdom as having come, and we preach in the public concourses where the people pass as did Isaiah and Jesus Christ.

But this Saturday morning a group of irate taxi drivers came up to Fedd and began to heckle and threaten him. Fedd tried to reason his way out of their charges, with the pedestrians as often as not agreeing with him. But it makes no sense to a lot of people that you have a religion that comes first, last, and always, in spite of nationalism, panic, war, or anything. It does not make bat-sense to a lot of people that you can have conscientious scruples, based on Bible commands, against saluting the flag of any nation—and still be a good citizen. Either you conform or you are on the other side.

This morning the taxi drivers made no bones about it. "If you don't get, somebody will drag you out of here feet first," they told Fedd.

As company servant in Cumberland County for the past year, I had been expecting this. I had been warned that some "squirrel hunter" would mistake me for a squirrel one of these days. When I came by Fedd's corner at about nine o'clock, the taxi drivers were knotted together down the street, talking with Chief of Police Clayton Shaver. We didn't know whether they were trying to incite him against us or just posting him what to expect. Should we tuck tail and run? If we did, they'd think we were afraid and accost us all the more in the future. Fedd and I were the only men in the company; must the women and children also leave off exercising this fundamental scriptural and legal right to preach the Gospel because a gang of irate citizens didn't like it? No; Jesus always stood his ground; so did Paul; so do our brothers in 115 countries.

While the taxi men were talking with the chief, we walked down and told him in their hearing we knew what was coming and the job of preserving order was now his responsibility. In a flash the sawed-off fellow, Johnny Burgess, wheeled and seized my jacket lapels.

MARLEY COLE, who participated in the events he describes, is a Jehovah's Witness who lives in Tennessee.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

P. G. Garrett, a redfaced taxi man wearing glasses, hove in, his fist flailing. A husky fellow named Beecher Poteet sputtered about us and our communistic stuff. I told them they must be willing ignorant, for the very *Awake!* we were displaying was headlined "Communists Fight Jehovah's Witnesses" and the *Watchtower* contained press reports of the banning, outlawing, and imprisoning of Jehovah's Witnesses all over Soviet areas, including East Germany. Garrett grabbed an *Awake!* out of my hands and crammed it in his pocket. A crowd was gathering. The taxi men kept closing in, grabbing us and making gestures. Finally the chief of police pulled them off. They shouted, "You so-and-so's get off the streets." We replied, "We're going back to our corner."

We went back.

Twenty minutes later the fighting started. Chief Shaver was not on hand—he had gone into a barber shop. Beecher Poteet lunged in and pinned my arms down. While he held me Garrett struck me a blow on the cheek. The three of us struggled and went down. Johnny Burgess and Hollis Patton attacked Fedd, who lost his glasses in the scuffling. The brawl broke up with Garrett yelling that I started it by hitting Beecher Poteet first. At this point Poteet became the law—a deputy sheriff. He said, "I'll arrest you both. Come on over to the courthouse." We said, "We want some warrants too, including one for you."

ALL of us went up the block and crossed to the courthouse. The magistrate would not give either of us a warrant. Fedd and I left and went up town to the office of the city judge.

Judge C. E. Keyes was reluctant to issue any warrants. He hoped the "whole thing would blow over." We assured him it could not, not until law and order took things in hand. Then he issued a warrant and said he would have it served as soon as our legal counsel could set a time for a hearing.

Fedd and I went back to the Kingdom Hall to conduct our regular Saturday morning service meeting and theocratic ministry school. There were seventeen women and children present. Everybody was determined to go out in the street work. Meanwhile we had called the legal desk of the Watchtower Bible and Tract Society in Brooklyn and been advised to push on the work and get in touch with their nearest legal representative, Franklin Griffin, in Dalton, Georgia. Griffin was out of town Saturday and we could not reach him. Fedd and I were hoping to have the warrants served on the instigators before we resumed our street-corner witnessing.

Since the other Witnesses, the women and children, were dispersing to street corners all over town, we felt obliged to move around among them to see that they were not molested. We told Chief Shaver that we had to go back on the streets, and he advised us not to. We told High Sheriff Lawrence Wyatt the same thing, and he said go ahead, there would be no trouble, or if we started any he'd haul us and the others all in together.

At one street corner the mob began to follow us. We kept moving at the same pace; they yapped along at our heels, hands hovering at their pocket mouths as if to go for a knife. At the end of the block we crossed the street. They did not follow. But as we went back up town they jumped us at another corner. They really flooded over us this time. There was hard fighting that would have done us in if Chief Shaver had not finally broken it up.

We anticipated a showdown the next day, Sunday. Our regular Bible lecture was scheduled for one o'clock. At six o'clock that morning my call to the Dalton lawyer got through, and he said he would come right up. Word of the trouble was spreading. Witnesses from surrounding companies were coming to Crossville. By noon they were parking their cars unobtrusively on streets near the Kingdom Hall. Crossville's one-man police force would be powerless. The county sheriff and his handful of deputies would not be much better off. There were only two highway patrolmen stationed at Crossville.

Sure enough, by two o'clock hundreds of people were on Main Street. By three o'clock mobsters had got the city fire hose and attached it to the plug across from the Hall. A few minutes later two county trucks pulled up and the occupants started handing out guns to the mob. The only staying forces on the scene were the out-of-town Witnesses and five carloads of state patrolmen who were rushed in from Cookeville and Nashville.

Mayor Mayberry pleaded for a bloodless settlement. He asked the Witnesses if they would leave town provided the mob would break up. The Witnesses said yes. The out-of-towners did leave—some of them at gunpoint, one of the gun-toters being a woman.

Fedd, my wife, and I were left. The mob was still down on the street. We had a good-will lady and her two small boys with us. She and her children were escorted by patrolmen into Fedd's car with us. Amid the taunts and laughter of the mob we rode down Main Street of Crossville. It was solidly lined with cars. Even Mr. Johnson, the theater manager, and a lot of his patrons stood under the Palace marquee and watched. The lady in the car with us had tears running down her face. "I consider it the greatest honor of my life to ride down this street with you people," she declared.

Mayor Mayberry, accompanied by City Commissioner M. E. Dorton, met Fedd and me next day in Cookeville, fifty miles west. The meeting was held in the office of the state highway patrol, with Lieutenant M. E. Kinchum present. Our attorneys were there. The Mayor said frankly that it would be insane for us to go back to Crossville. "Those people run things over there. I know you gentlemen should come back. But it is not practical. It doesn't

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

sound good, but I have to suggest that you take a defeatist attitude."

Commissioner Dorton concurred. "We cannot control them. We tried to stop them from shooting firecrackers on the Fourth of July. The first thing we knew there was a hundred people shooting firecrackers."

A lot of times in mobbings Jehovah's Witnesses find themselves victims of conspiracies or connivings between the authorities and the mob. So far we cannot point to any positive connection in the Crossville affray. True, when our attorney asked who turned the city fire hose over to the mob, neither the Mayor nor the Commissioner had an answer. But I do know that the authorities and the law at Crossville, Tennessee, are mortified over this disgrace.

A lot of times, too, the American Legion and veterans' organizations take a hand in these pseudo-patriotic outbursts; but the Legion and V. F. W. deplored the mobbing in the Crossville *Chronicle*.

CROSSVILLE'S action, from surface appearances, was an uprising of ignorant, prejudiced people who took the law into their own hands. One Witness, Dr. C. P. Shaw from Nashville, circulated unidentified among the mob. "I asked one tall fellow why they didn't let law and order handle this. He said, 'But we can't have them magazines distributed here.' When I asked why he didn't want Jehovah's Witnesses handled through proper legal channels if they were guilty of anything, he repeated, 'But we can't have them magazines distributed here.'" A short fellow wearing a yellow baseball cap, when asked the same question, replied, "I started this whole thing yesterday. We are the law in this town. We don't even allow niggers in this town."

What kind of citizens are these self-styled authorities who don't allow "niggers" or Jehovah's Witnesses in their town? On the following Tuesday night two of their beat-up men were jailed for highway robbery.

People outside of Crossville, Tennessee, may imagine that such a thing could not happen in their community. But they are wrong. Worse orgies of mob hysteria have swept perfectly "respectable" towns, such as Wooster, Ohio, and Duncan, Oklahoma, in recent months. In 1940 mob violence broke out against Jehovah's Witnesses in forty-four states. Already the contagion from the Crossville disgrace has scattered to points outside Tennessee. A news story sent out from Crossville and monitored by United Press reported that "the trouble was said to have started when Cole began preaching against the war effort, the draft, and saluting the flag." Jehovah's Witnesses, it said, were on Crossville's streets distributing pamphlets "urging young men not to report for selective-service calls," and their Sunday meeting was held "to protest the draft."

Fedd Wiley and I spent all day Tuesday tracing down this incendiary "news" to its source in a Crossville correspondent. The taxi drivers from whom he got it knew it was a lie. To the United Press and to editors and reporters we went on record as to what we were preaching, which had exactly as little to do with draft, war effort, and flag saluting as did Jesus's Kingdom of God proclamations. United Press sent out a retraction. But I have yet to see a U. P. news story in any paper explaining what we Jehovah's Witnesses *were* preaching.

The damage has been done. In Dickson, Tennessee, our contract for a meeting place has been canceled. In Maryville, Columbia, and other Tennessee towns, as well as in Greenville, South Carolina, threats against the Witnesses have started rumbling. If mob hysteria swept forty-four states in 1940, it may sweep forty-eight states in 1951. To see officials and citizens of a community hang their heads in shame and confess that not they but lawless mobs run the place is to witness the horrid picture of mob anarchy.

Jehovah's Witnesses survived twelve years of Nazi extermination drives; today many who wore the zebra suits of Hitler's concentration camps are going back into concentration camps run by Communists. They can get along underground or aboveground. But here is the inescapable fact for citizens and authorities to face up

Seligson

to: the country in which Jehovah's Witnesses cannot preach the gospel has no freedom for its people. Some countries are totalitarian by decree; others by virtue of the spirit of the people, who violate the principles of their own constitutional law. Mob hysteria, not the preaching of Jehovah's Witnesses, now threatens to subject America to a nightmare of hoodlumism.

EAST TENNESSEE STATE COLLEGE
Johnson City, Tennessee
LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

BOOKS and the ARTS

Will France Rise Again?

MODERN FRANCE, PROBLEMS OF THE THIRD AND FOURTH REPUBLICS. Edited by Edward Mead Earle. Princeton University Press. $6.

AMERICANS are very much interested in France these days, and with good reason. Despite its weakness and loss of prestige France is still the largest and most powerful of the free nations on the continent of Europe. On its capacity and will to resist may depend the fate of the Continent in case of a Third World War. Should the Red Army launch an attack on Western Europe, will France prove to be the France of Clemenceau or that of Laval? America would very much like to know.

Last year a conference was organized and directed by Edward Mead Earle, at Princeton, with the object of making a many-sided study of the French situation. It was attended chiefly by the "younger set" of American students of France. The outcome of this conference is the book under review, the chapters of which were originally papers delivered by the delegates.

As is inevitable in a collective enterprise of this sort, the chapters are uneven in value and in interest. Some, like those on French politics, are brilliant; others, like those on French letters and science, are entirely inadequate. However, on the whole the book is a distinct contribution to our knowledge and understanding of conditions in France. Though addressed to the general reader it will prove an invaluable aid to those especially interested in European affairs.

In a provocative chapter, The *Elan Vital* of France, John B. Wolf sounds a theme that is taken up and developed by some of his fellow-contributors. This theme is the "tragic failure of France to adjust itself to the emerging industrial-scientific society of the twentieth century"; hence its internal weakness and the ebbing of its *élan vital*. It was a stunted Industrial Revolution that France experienced; the result has been an industrial system in part actually pre-capitalist, an artisan or semi-artisan system. And the much-vaunted balanced economy of France merely means that a backward agriculture is balanced by a backward industry. This has been due partly to a lack of sufficient coal, but much more to the persistence of the luxury industries that prosper best in the handicraft stage. Economic life in France, according to John E. Sawyer, has therefore been "geared to smallness and continuity," which has retarded mass production and has encouraged an "endless readiness to repair and conserve." The consequence is the persistent survival of the most individualistic economy in Europe.

The pattern of French business organization is described in an illuminating chapter by David P. Landes. French business, even large enterprises such as those of the Wendels and the Schneiders, is generally family-structured. A French enterpriser avoids as much as possible making use of credit; hence expansion is limited. The home market is small, being restricted by the low purchasing power of poorly paid workers and small peasant proprietors. Chain and department stores are discouraged by restrictive laws. "Modern mass production," writes Landes, "demands turnover above all, and French retail trade turns very slowly." Because of high profits, especially in the luxury industries, there is plenty of money, which seeks investment in foreign loans rather than in home industry. As a consequence industrial production in 1949, though considerably above the 1938 level, was not much above the 1929 level.

Since 1870 the great political problem of France has been to protect the democratic Republic from its enemies—the royalists before 1914 and the fascists and Communists thereafter. The slogan of the republicans under the Third Republic was "no enemies on the left." In the Fourth Republic, however, the enemy is on the left—the Communists, now the largest party in the National Assembly. This has created a problem unprecedented in the history of republican France.

The political tragedy of France is the collapse of the Socialist Party, today the strongest pillar of democracy in Western Europe. In one of the best chapters in the book Henry W. Ehrmann describes how the Socialists, who had displaced the Radical Socialists as the leading champions of reform, put through the great social reforms of the Blum ministry. But after World War II the situation on the left changed drastically because the workers deserted the Socialists en masse for the Communists. As a consequence the Socialist Party shrank rapidly and has become essentially a middle-class party, moderate in aim and cautious in method. To gain power it has to combine either with the Communists or with the right. Whichever it does, according to Ehrmann, it is bound to lose. To "combine" with the Communists means certain death. To combine with the right means that the Socialists have definitely ceased to be a working-class party. In France that would signify only one thing; that the Socialists had joined the camp of the reactionaries and hence were doomed to wither away into nothingness.

The trade unions have been the chief battlefield between Socialists and Communists. The capture of the General Confederation of Labor by the Communists is vividly described by Val R. Lorwin, who points out that their success was due chiefly to the failure of the government to meet the wage-price issue. Despite the considerable increase in post-war production real wages have increased little if at all, and the French workers, militant and class conscious, have supported the Communists as the only uncompromising champions of the workers' demand for a higher living standard. Lorwin makes the sorry comment that the "share of the wage-earners in the total national income had probably declined as compared with prewar conditions." Surprising, however, were the gains of the Communists in rural France. In explanation Gordon Wright corrects the common opinion that peasant proprietorship is universal in France by noting that perhaps one-third of the farm population is proletarian or semi-proletarian, chiefly laborers and share-croppers. These ele-

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

ments have proved favorable soil for Communist propaganda.

What about the Third Force, of which so much is bruited abroad? In a well-written chapter Edward Whiting Fox explains how this nebulous combination has managed to survive though it satisfies no one. The more a ministry changes the more it is the same Third Force. Fox acutely observes that it survives because it is a necessity, since there is no loyal opposition, right or left, to which a dissatisfied voter can turn. The Third Force now performs the vital function of maintaining the Republic "against the day when the issues of the cold war are resolved, and the world is once again safe for democratic republics."

Highly interesting is the chapter Georges Sorel: Apostle of Fanaticism, by Scott H. Lytle. Sorel is the only writer who receives special treatment in the book, and the choice is an excellent one. This engineer turned philosopher was an almost perfect example of the revolutionary intellectual, and authentically French in mood, spirit, and manner. Sorel's intellectual interest was not so much in the ideas of the right and left as in the conflict between them. And the disharmonies of French political life were reflected in the dissonances of his political ideas. Sorel began as a Marxist, became a syndicalist, blinked at royalism and fascism, and died believing that communism heralded the "dawn of a new era." In his fine intellectual portrait of this revolutionary philosopher, Lytle exhibits him as a man "seeking the absolute," convinced that the revolutionary myth would succeed religion by giving the workers a political faith in which to believe and for which to conquer the world. The spirit of fanaticism which had migrated from the body religious to the body politic found supreme expression in this refined, cultured, scholarly *idéologue*.

France in international relations is treated by Henry Bertram Hill and Fred Latimer Hadsel. They point out that France's traditional demand for security, against Soviet Russia as well as against Germany, at last received a cordial response in the North Atlantic Pact. Its associates in the pact clearly recognized France's geographical advantage as a bridge between East and West and as an avenue for the deployment of troops in Central Europe. In the view of these writers France's will to resist aggression will become progressively stronger as the North Atlantic nations advance their rearmament program. In the last analysis that means American help, which is readily forthcoming.

Love and admiration of France are evinced by all the contributors; yet an atmosphere of pessimism pervades most of the book. This pessimism arises from the view, expressed or implied, that the fall of France in 1940 revealed fundamental infirmities, political, social, economic, and spiritual, in the structure of the nation. The loss of nerve in facing the great crisis has shaken the confidence of the world in France and of France in itself. Will France rise again as it has done so many times?

There is one sign of such a resurrection, the Schuman Plan. Unfortunately, the present book slights that famous project; only a few stray sentences are devoted to it. The bold, original, constructive plan initiated by France now seems fairly sure of being adopted. Once carried into effect, the Schuman Plan will quiet France's fear of Germany, which has racked French nerves for so long, and will restore its economic *élan vital* by giving it greater access to the coal and steel of the Ruhr. France's Industrial Revolution need no longer be stunted; and at long last it will have the opportunity to enter the industrial-scientific economy of the twentieth century.

The history of France, more than that of any other nation in the Old World, is the history of Europe. So deeply and so widely has French influence permeated the life and thought of the European peoples that, as André Siegfried truly says in the opening chapter of the book, "without France, there is no Europe; without Europe, there would be no France."

J. SALWYN SCHAPIRO

A Poet's Letters

THE HONEY GORGED. The Selected Letters of John Keats. Edited with an introduction by Lionel Trilling. Farrar, Straus and Young $3.50.

THE temptation is simply to quote, for there are astonishing beauties in these letters, sentence perfect and complete: "Axioms in philosophy are not axioms until they are proved by our pulses." "Nothing startles me beyond the Moment." "The excellence of every art is its intensity." "Men should bear with each other—there lives not the Man who may not be cut up, aye hashed to pieces on his weakest side."

That these letters form a superb work of art need hardly be argued. It would, however, be profitable to argue that their greatness is essentially of the same order as the greatness in a few of Keats's poems; and that the depreciation of the nineteenth century poets, fashionable until last night, has led to a curious use of the letters as a means of undercutting the poems. But the same man, the same writer is at work in both the poems and the letters: a genuinely unified sensibility. That he sometimes used verse and other times prose is not nearly so important as that he always used language.

Thomas Mann

By HENRY HATFIELD

A critical guidebook to the works of a monumental writer. Detailed analysis of the stories and novels with full background material. $2.00

Other Books in the "Makers of Modern Literature" series: ($2.00)

FORSTER by Lionel Trilling
GIDE by Van Meter Ames
GOGOL by Vladimir Nabokov
HOPKINS by Kenyon Critics
JOYCE by Harry Levin
LORCA by Edwin Honig
ROBINSON by Yvor Winters
SHAW by Eric Bentley
STEVENSON by David Daiches
WILDE by Edouard Roditi
WILLIAMS by Vivienne Koch
WOLFE by H. J. Muller
WOOLF by David Daiches

NEW DIRECTIONS BOOKS
333 SIXTH AVENUE, NEW YORK

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

In his fine introduction Mr. Trilling speaks of Keats's geniality. I found myself thinking that Keats was that rarity among writers, a truly pleasing man—but we probably mean the same thing. Or perhaps the word is manliness, the real kind, modest and quiet, not the false American strut. The early letters are a little self-conscious in their crowding for sensation, but those that follow, written during the pitifully few years in which he did his best work, are hard with thought and lovely with a rare blend of comradely feeling and self-respect. Finally, a group of letters to Fanny Brawne, assaulting the emotions in wave after wave of his pleas for life and his hunger for time: "I cannot say forget me—but I would mention that there are impossibilities in the world."

Reading these letters reinforces the impression that since the nineteenth century there has been a sad decline in the art of writing prose. We are deep in political smog and literary murk, and no one alive can habitually write such clear and strong English sentences as Keats. Few people in his own time did either, but his style can be related, as the good styles of our day cannot be, to a general level of literary cultivation. Perhaps this decline is due to the blight of journalism or the softening of education; perhaps to the fact that literary people have come to prefer the bureaucratic attractions of apparatus to the personal values of style.

Most impressive in these letters is the picture they slowly compose of Keats considering his role as a writer. He is known for having written, "O for a life of Sensations rather than of Thoughts," but he also wrote six months later, "I find that I can have no enjoyment in the World but continual drinking of Knowledge." He regarded the profession of poetry with reverence, but he knew that "fine writing is next to fine doing." He suffered from the press of time ("Gorge the honey of life," he wrote a friend), but even when he became panicky as a man he remained self-possessed as a writer. He did not believe that to reach greatness a writer must enter some dark diabolic compact, and even in those passages where he affirms his greatness ("I think I shall be among the English poets after my death") there is no preening, keening, or leverkühning.

Mr. Trilling's long introduction is an act of genuine criticism, and it does not slip into that mimicry of the subject which so many reprint editors consider a way of easing their readers into a classic.

The book itself is the first in "The Great Letters Series," of which Louis Kronenberger is general editor. Except that there seems a disproportion in devoting 60 of its 280 pages to introductory apparatus, it is an admirable beginning.

IRVING HOWE

A Decisive Failure

THE NEGRO AND THE COMMUNIST PARTY. By Wilson Record. The University of North Carolina Press. $3.50.

THE failure of the Communists to win many Negro adherents in the United States is one of many reasons, it seems to this reviewer, why Russia may fail to achieve world domination. Defection or sabotage on the part of a considerable number of the fifteen million colored Americans could measurably impair the striking power of the United States in an all-out war fought simultaneously in Asia and Europe. A strong American Negro Communist Party could, moreover, furnish effective leadership for nationalist movements in Africa—whose strategic and economic importance is belatedly acknowledged in this country—and revolutionary movements in the colonial West Indies and Latin America. In retrospect, this failure of the Communists may prove as decisive as similar miscalculations in Western Europe have been.

The author, a native Texan educated at Texas Wesleyan, the University of North Carolina, and the University of Texas, spells out in this objective, dispassionate, and well-documented study the reasons for the failure here. The period following the great depression seemed tailor-made for a successful Communist drive among American Negroes. They were the most exploited of the ill-fed, ill-clad, and poorly housed. They suffered segregation, discrimination, disfranchisement, insults to their personal dignity. The Scottsboro case, which the Communists took over from the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, provided a *cause célèbre* that aroused more world-wide condemnation of judicial process in the United States than any case since the Sacco-Vanzetti case. And yet at no time between 1929 and 1934 did Negro Communists number more than some 2,500.

Perhaps the most important reason for the failure to reap a richer harvest during this golden opportunity was the proposal for a Black Nation adopted at the Communist Sixth World Congress in 1928. This party line won even fewer supporters than had Marcus Garvey with his "Black Nationalism" in the early 1920's. The Communist plan to train American Negroes for leadership in the liberation of black colonial subjects in Africa and the West Indies was equally unrealistic. The reviewer, who participated in the Pan-African Congresses of 1921, 1923, and 1925, recalls how extremely difficult it was to get American Negroes interested in colonial areas. During the depression they were even less interested, since their principal concern was jobs, food, and housing. When Communists directed their agitation and propaganda to these problems, they won their largest number of colored supporters. But "white chauvinism" prevented the Communists from reaping the full benefit of their success. Virulent attacks upon the N. A. A. C. P. and the National Urban League alienated large numbers of Negroes. Two reasons even more significant than those enumerated accounted for the Communist failure. One of these, the author makes clear, was the indifference of American Negroes to Russia and Marxism. The second, it seems to this reviewer, was the inherent conflict between the appeals to class solidarity and to racial nationalism.

The frequent shiftings in the party line after 1934 consolidated the failure of the previous years. In 1935 the Seventh World Congress ordered a united front against war and fascism, working arrangements were sought with trade unions, the N. A. A. C. P., and the Urban League. National liberation movements in the colonies and grievances of racial minorities were subordinated to the necessity to prevent world domination by Germany, Italy, and Japan. Moreover, the New Deal and the emergence of the C. I. O. weakened the argument by which the Communists

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

had made their greatest gains—the existence of discrimination in jobs, food, clothing, and housing. Only the most completely committed Negro Communists could adjust themselves to the subsequent tergiversations—"This is not the Negro's War," after the Hitler-Stalin pact of August, 1939; "This is the Negro's War," after the German invasion of Russia in June, 1941; "This is not the Negro's War," after the end of the war in 1945.

Today the Communists must have virtually abandoned hope of establishing a strong fifth column among Negroes in the United States. The revived plan for a Black Nation, set forth at length in Harry Haywood's "Negro Liberation" (1948), has even less chance than it had twenty-odd years ago. Since Russia is fighting an undeclared war against the United States, the Kremlin will win hardly more Negro supporters than did Germany in World War I or Japan in World War II. Above all, the Negro's dream of first-class citizenship now seems attainable.

The author has summed up the Communist débâcle in this felicitous paragraph: "Negroes in the United States have had plenty of provocation to revolt. But they have chosen to protest within the constitutional framework. They have not succumbed, as a group, to any 'siren song, sung in bass.' And because the aspirations of the American Negro are essentially egalitarian, a 'bourgeois' document like the American Constitution has a liberating potential in the Black Belt of Alabama and in the ghetto of Harlem that the 'Communist Manifesto' could never hope to have."

RAYFORD W. LOGAN

End of a World

THE SLAVE SHIP. By Bruno E. Werner. Translated by Eithne Wilkins and Ernst Kaiser. Pantheon Books. $4.

THE slave ship is Hitler's Third Reich, which was launched with such Wagnerian fanfare in 1933 and crashed to pieces so spectacularly in 1945 that one thinks of it as a natural subject for a novelist's set-piece. The passenger and galley slave to whom our attention is directed is Georg Forster, upper-middle class journalist and art historian, who observes the launching with a mixture of disdain, disgust, and ridicule, but never takes advantage of his early opportunities—he is a traveler and well-connected, even in the Nazi party—to leave the ship. From the point of view of the novelist, this reluctance is helpful to his design, for Georg, like the ubiquitous heroes of the sagas of Upton Sinclair and Robert Briffault, is the confidant of Nazis and underground workers alike. We see Hitler in person through his eyes, as well as the would-be assassin, Colonel Schellenberg.

But the reader can have little sympathy for this vacillating type, who apparently hangs around Germany in the pre-war years primarily because of his amatory preoccupations and secondarily because of a lingering patriotism from his officer days in the first war. The first third of the book, exposing Georg's growing awareness of the corruption and rottenness of the Third Reich, is of interest only as additional evidence of the way ordinary unheroic people manage to accommodate themselves to the ugly realities of life in the total state. The lies, the evasions, the fears, the rationalizations—all are here.

It is only with the outbreak of war that Mr. Werner's novel erupts into the white-hot depiction of the blazing slave ship that it might have been from beginning to end. It is as if the explosion of the war itself jarred the writer loose from his lesser preoccupations (the book has strongly autobiographical overtones) and forced him to face the end of a world. The cumulative impact of his description of the bombings of Berlin is extraordinary. And the climax is reached in a scene unsurpassed for its evocation of total destruction—a scene in which Georg wanders among the hideously eerie debris and the charred corpses of Dresden in search of the shelter in which his wife is entombed. This is a new unimagined circle of the Inferno, with the S. S.-devils careening through the smoking ruins in search of new victims for their scaffolds. The final chapters of this curiously uneven novel take rank with the very best in European literature. The close is classic in its pitiful simplicity: the aging Georg, alone and friendless, is standing at the side of the road and waving a twig of apple-blossom at an advancing American tank labeled California Kid.

If through some as yet unguessed-of good fortune we are spared the final World War, our children will want to know what they were lucky enough to miss. They will find it in the closing scenes of "The Slave Ship" for assuredly, this is the way the world ends—with both a bang *and* a whimper.

HARVEY SWADOS

In Many Directions

N D 12: NEW DIRECTIONS IN PROSE AND POETRY. New Directions Press. $5.

IN THIS, the twelfth of a series of anthologies, there are fifty contributions in prose, verse, and drama, concluded with photographs of seven sculptures by Michael Lekakis. The contents, including the art, point in many directions. When the dust-jacket labels the book "a gallery of new and divergent trends in contemporary letters," we have a right to compare it to *transition,* which flourished less than twenty years ago (1927-38). "New Directions 12" then seems old-fashioned, almost sedate; yet it is still well ahead of the main guard of writing today. In general, its subtitle might be

JUST RECEIVED — VOL 3, 2nd Ed.
Available Now! Vols. 1, 2 & 3
GREAT SOVIET ENCYCLOPEDIA
Deluxe printing and binding. Profusely illustrated with color plates and maps. In Russian.
This new enlarged edition will consist of 50 volumes. The Collegium of Editors and contributors includes leading personalities in Soviet Arts, Literature and Science.
Regular Price — $9.50 per Volume
OUR SUBSCRIPTION OFFER—$8 per Vol.
Subscribers will be billed for each volume as delivered. We urge immediate subscription as the supply will be limited.
FOUR CONTINENT BOOK CORP.
Importers from the USSR
55 W. 56 St., N. Y. 19 MUrray Hill 8-2660

Buy Your Books through THE *Nation*

Nation readers can avail themselves of our offer to send them any book at the regular publisher's price post-free if payment is received with the order, or at the publisher's price plus postage if the book is sent C. O. D. No C. O. D.'s outside the United States. When ordering, please give name and author and publisher, if possible.

Please address your orders to
Miss Le Pach
THE READERS' SERVICE DIVISION
20 Vesey Street New York 7, N. Y.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

the name of a piece it contains: "Art and Exhibitionism." At its best it is art; at its worst, exhibitionism.

The prose pieces exemplify a variety of literary "isms"—ranging from laboratory naturalism through expressionism to the innermost limits of private symbolism. The naturalistic pieces include very thin slices of life which are ordinarily not examined in writing because of their taboos—a boy's obsession with masturbation, for example, or a soldier's job of identifying the decayed dead. A number of others are war pieces; those that stand out are Robert Lowry's violent sketch of New Year's Eve in Rome and John S. Lawson's Enterprise for a Dream, about a soldier's nightmare experiences. Both have humor, and in the second it is humor of a sardonic kind that digs beneath the surface. A convalescent lieutenant tells how he had lain in the street of a town captured by the Germans. "And so he pretended that he was dead that he might live. Henry asked him if it had been very hard, and the Lieutenant said tiredly that it was easier than pretending you are alive when you are dead." Actually there is a good deal of humor and wit in this volume. They appear in Leslie Katz's parable and in Elliott Stein's Saroyanesque Confessions of a Young Insomniac. At their most vindictive they spark Anatole Broyard's Village Café, a mordant documentation of a bistro where the neo-lost generation goes to hear the echo of its loneliness.

The artist-poet in all his varied flavors and oddities appears in this anthology. At the conventional poles are Mark Van Doren's long dramatic poem and Tennessee Williams's lyrics, drenched with pre-Raphaelite perfume. Especially successful are the chiseled couplets of Don G. Hoffman, the cerebral lyrics of Anthony Hecht, and the stark ones of May Swenson. Her lyric which begins "who looked IN A MIRROR,/ and saw there a face not his own" glitters with virtuoso art that comes off perfectly. The most ambitious poem, in length and scope, is Kenneth Rexroth's The Dragon and the Unicorn, a philosophical travelogue through England, France, and the United States.

Of the plays William Inge's brief documentary of autograph hunters is neatly inconsequential. Particularly so in the company of Georg Buechner's Woyzeck, a powerful expressionistic fragment, excellently translated, and introduced by a chapter from Karl Vietor's biography of its author.

One of the pleasures of this sort of anthology—the pain lasts only as long as it takes to flick the pages—is that it is a grab-bag in which almost anything can turn up. Mr. Laughlin reprints Melville Cane's essay Why Ask for Permission? which argues with exceptional clarity and vigor that begging literary permission or paying for it should be squashed. But as editor Mr. Laughlin is not always so efficient. Some of his biggest names, Paul Bowles and Henry Miller among them, show their smallest efforts. And there are too many typographical errors.

Yet in general his antho'ogy, along with the other publications of his press, is a very sound force. The transitional and new directional writing is peripheral, to be sure, but its value comes from its constant pressure to break down the stereotypes that control form and content of popular, commercial writing today. The writers who explore new directions are making a valiant, perhaps hopeless, attempt to arrest the inevitable evolution of the exhibitionist into the exhibitor, the artist into the artisan. ROBERT HALSBAND

Records

B. H. HAGGIN

THE beautiful sound of the Toscanini-N. B. C. Symphony performance of Dukas's "The Sorcerer's Apprentice" on the recent RCA Victor 78 rpm records is all but completely produced by the newly issued LP record—the difference being slightly less fulness of resonance, noticeable especially in the bass; and the sound of Smetana's "Die Moldau" on the same record doesn't seem to have even this slight deficiency. These LP recordings are even finer than the one of Schubert's "Unfinished" Symphony a couple of months ago; and it's a pity Victor couldn't do as well with Beethoven's "Eroica," Tchaikovsky's "Manfred," and the "Parsifal" excerpts which it issued a year ago.

In contrast to the warm, lustrous sound that Victor is now getting onto its LP records is the sharply distinct, dry, lusterless sound we have been getting from most other orchestral records. The sound from Columbia's records of the Philadelphia Orchestra may be what one would hear standing in among the violins; but it is not what one has heard sitting in the Academy of Music or Carnegie Hall; and Victor is producing the blended, richly resonant sound of an orchestra that one hears sitting in the concert hall.

FOR YOUR CONVENIENCE

The NATION — **Money-Saving Magazine Combinations**

☐ *with* Harper's Magazine . . . . . $9.50 You Save $2.50

☐ *with* Consumer Reports . . . . . $10.75 You Save $1.25

These club combinations listed are for one year, and may be mailed to different individuals and addresses. Remittance must accompany all combination orders.

THE NATION BY ITSELF:

☐ One Year $7 ☐ Two Years $12 ☐ Three Years $17

SERVICEMEN'S RATE $5 A YEAR

Canadian and Foreign Postage $1 a year extra.

THE NATION, 20 Vesey Street, New York 7, N. Y.

- I want to subscribe to *The Nation* for _____ years. ☐ Remittance enclosed. ☐ Bill me.
- I enclose my remittance for the following *Nation* combinations as listed below.

_____

_____

NAME _____

STREET _____

CITY _____ ZONE _____ STATE _____

6/9/51

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

At this point I received a Columbia record of a performance of "Die Moldau" by Szell with the New York Philharmonic, the sound of which is, for once, warm and rich, and also more solid than Victor's. The performance is good, except for occasional stodginess. On the reverse side is Smetana's "From Bohemia's Meadows and Fields," with a magnificent opening and other beautiful pages.

Even the sound of Beecham's Royal Philharmonic in Haydn's Symphony No. 93 is lusterless and occasionally muffled on the Columbia record; with treble stepped up the violins are brighter but also sharper. The performance is stolid and fussy, without the grace and continuity of Cantelli's. There is more of this flow and grace in the performance of the Handel-Beecham "Faithless Shepherd" Suite on the same record.

Dry, lusterless, and sharp sound too, with heavy bass, from the Westminster record of Haydn's Symphonies No. 97 and 102 (each of which begins too low in pitch); better sound from the record of Nos. 103 ("Drum Roll") and 80. One is aware every now and then that Scherchen is conducting the inferior Vienna Symphony; and his tempos are much too slow in most of No. 103 and insufficiently animated in the first movement of No. 80 and the finale of No. 97; but otherwise the performances are good.

A London record offers the first good performance of Mozart's lovely Symphony K.201, recorded by Peter Maag with L'Orchestre de la Suisse romande, and a performance of the Symphony K.425 ("Linz") by Böhm and the Vienna Philharmonic which is good except for an excessively fast tempo that robs the first movement of its power. Veiled or muffled sound again, brighter but not agreeable with stepped-up treble. And the usual London hum-like resonance.

The performance of Mozart's charming Symphony K.200 by Rudolf Albert with the Bavarian Radio Orchestra is fair; its sound on the Mercury record is either very sharp or harsh, and not spacious. With it, played by Kurt Eichorn with the Munich Philharmonic, is the Symphony K.183, which I again find unimpressive.

Beethoven's Symphony No. 4 gets an excellent performance by Solti with the London Philharmonic on a London record. Stepped-up treble gives minimum liveness but no luster; surfaces are gritty; and there is the hum-like resonance again.

Decca's record of Mendelssohn's "Midsummer Night's Dream" music offers a greater amount of this music than Toscanini recorded for Victor; and the performances—with Ference Fricsay conducting the Berlin Philharmonic, RIAS Chamber Choir, and soloists—are reproduced with more clarity and beauty of sound. But those inadequately recorded Toscanini performances have animation, grace, plasticity, and mercurial brilliance which the German performances don't have. Another Toscanini performance of the Scherzo—a little less brilliant, but better recorded—previously included in the album of Schubert's Symphony No. 9, has been issued on a Victor 78 (with the trashy Overture to Khabalevsky's "Colas Breugnon").

On another Victor 78 is Berlioz's delightful "Beatrice and Benedict" Overture, beautifully played by the Boston Symphony under Münch, and excellently reproduced.

Stravinsky's 1919 Suite from "L'Oiseau de feu" and "Le Sacre du printemps" are excellently performed by Ansermet with L'Orchestre de la Suisse romande and superbly reproduced by the London records, though with the usual hum-like resonance.

Bartok Records offers Bartok's Two Portraits Opus 5 and the Bartok-Serly "Mikrokosmos" Suite played by Autori with the New Symphony. The lyricism of the first "Idealistic" portrait is in the idiom that makes no musical sense to my ear; the distortion of the second portrait is effective as caricature; Serly's elaborations of the piano pieces are mostly quite engaging. The excellent performances are well reproduced.

Works to skip are Prokofiev's Symphony No. 6 (Columbia), Hindemith's Symphony in E flat (Columbia), and his Philharmonic Concerto and "Apparebit Repentina Dies" (Capitol). Performances to skip are De Sabata's of Brahms's Fourth Symphony (Decca), Celibidache's of Tchaikovsky's Fifth (London), Münch's of Tchaikovsky's "Pathetic" (London), Stokowski's of Sibelius's First (Victor), André's of Debussy's "Iberia" (Capitol).

CONTRIBUTORS

J. SALWYN SCHAPIRO, professor emeritus of history at the City College of New York, is author of "The World in Crisis."

IRVING HOWE has recently published "Sherwood Anderson," a critical biography.

RAYFORD W. LOGAN, professor of history at Howard University, is the author of "The Operation of the Mandate System in Africa."

HARVEY SWADOS has published short stories in the little magazines. He writes reviews for the New York *Post* and has contributed to the *Progressive* and the *Menorah Journal*.

ROBERT HALSBAND is the editor of "The Nonsense of Common Sense" by Lady Mary Wortley Montague.

* from "Bach-Gesellsch."
† from "Urtext" ed.
Pocket-Sized, Low-Priced Editions
BACH* Well Temp. Clavier, 2 vols., each..... .98
BEETHOVEN† Violin Sonatas, 2 vols., each.... .98
& MANY OTHERS—WRITE FOR FREE CATALOG
Order From Your Dealer, or Direct From
LEA POCKET SCORES Dept. W, Box 138 New York 32, N. Y.

30% to 50% DISCOUNT
ON ALL LP RECORDS
Up to 75% on rpm Records
Write for details to
ELAINE MUSIC SHOP
9 EAST 44th STREET bet. Fifth & Madison
NEW YORK CITY 17 MUrray Hill 2-6154

SELECTED LIST OF L. P.'s
33 1/3% OFF
Catalog available on request
DISCOUNT RECORD CLUB
Dept. N-24
Box 333, Grand Central Station, New York 17, N. Y.
Add 15¢ per record postage and handling charges (50¢ minimum) SAME-DAY SHIPMENT

PULITZER PRIZE and CRITICS' AWARD
RICHARD RODGERS & OSCAR HAMMERSTEIN 2nd
present in association with
LELAND HAYWARD & JOSHUA LOGAN
RAY MIDDLETON
MARTHA WRIGHT
IN
South Pacific
Music by RICHARD RODGERS
Lyrics by OSCAR HAMMERSTEIN 2nd
Book by
OSCAR HAMMERSTEIN 2nd & JOSHUA LOGAN
Adapted from JAMES A. MICHENER'S Pulitzer Prize Winning "TALES OF THE SOUTH PACIFIC"
Directed by JOSHUA LOGAN
Scenery & Lighting by Jo Mielziner
with MYRON McCORMICK • DIOSA COSTELLO
MAJESTIC, 44 St. W. of B'way • Air-Cond.
Evenings 8:25. Matinees Wed. & Sat. 2:25

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

RESORTS

Year 'round Adult Activities

Hathaway Lodge

Formerly the palatial 592-acre Macy estate. Luxurious rooms, many with open fireplaces. Swimming pool, tennis, handball, badminton. Horseback riding, walking, hiking—magnificent mountain trails. Recordings, ping-pong, library, informal dancing. Delicious American-Jewish food. Easy transportation. Attractive Rates.
For reservations or booklet "N"
HATHAWAY LODGE
Haines Falls, N. Y. • Phone Tannersville 299

WINDY HILL
ON ORANGE LAKE
A pleasantly informal vacation in friendly atmosphere. Books, Records, Ping-pong, a two-mile lake for boating, fishing, swimming. Food of excellent quality in generous quantity.
Pre-Season: $45 weekly, $7 daily
65 miles from N. Y. C.
JANE C. ARENZ, R. D. No. 1, Walden, New York
Phone: Newburgh 115W2

Glenmere
a country place of legendary beauty now filled with new wonders for you! in the Ramapos, Chester, New York
Phones: Chester 2151; N.Y. Rector 2-5047

Island Point Lodge
NORTH BRIDGTON, MAINE
The Ultimate in Recreation and Relaxation
Lodge and cottages on the shore of Long Lake. Fishing, boating, swimming, fine beach. Golf course and theaters nearby. Excellent home-cooked meals. Opening date June 15. Folder and rates on request.
P. O. Box 97, North Bridgton, Maine
Oman Goldie, Proprietor

50 MI. FROM NEW YORK

MAMANASCO Lake Lodge
RIDGEFIELD, CONN.
Phone 6-7000
A beautiful country estate converted into a delightful retreat for vacations and weekends. All outdoor activities. Mile-long lake. Tennis. Golf nearby. Informal, congenial atmosphere. Television, recordings. Excellent cuisine and accommodations. Moderate rates.

Lakecrest
On Hunn's Lake **Stanfordville, N. Y.**
Our 100-acre estate in the heart of Dutchess County offers you the utmost in comfort, excellent food, sports, cultural pursuits—or just plain restful lounging. An adult resort, only 90 miles from New York City.
Attractive Rates
EVA BERG, Director **Stanfordville 2093 & 2982**

MUSIC INN for any mood—Concerts at Tanglewood next door; inquiries into Jazz; 100 acres, tennis and two lakes. Write for detailed programs **Music Inn, Lenox, Mass.**

CHAUTAUQUA LAKE—near Chautauqua Institution and four symphony concerts weekly. Private house, acre of beautiful lawns and gardens, beach. Excellent cooking, garden-fresh vegetables. Room and meals $50 weekly. **Anderson, Lighthouse Point, Mayville, N. Y.**

VACATIONS

AN UNUSUAL VACATION—Folklore, Creative Writing, Language Workshops for all ages. Music and Sports. **ELAN International Center,** Vancouver Island, B. C., Canada. Box 230, c/o The Nation.

Letter to the Editors

The Vote in Italy

Dear Sirs: Returning home after two months in Italy, I read with interest Mrs. Sprigge's article, Italy Goes to the Polls (*The Nation*, May 26). As background for the current local elections, it should have included, I feel, certain broader considerations.

In estimating attendance at the rival Communist and anti-Communist May Day rallies, Mrs. Sprigge gives only official figures. But even if conflicting claims were cited, they would not tell the whole story. A few days after May Day, when civil servants staged a general strike in protest against their miserable salaries, the government reported it was only 50 per cent successful while the General Confederation of Labor (C. G. I. L.) held that more than 90 per cent walked out. Since the white-collar workers for the most part belong to the Free Confederation, the cooperation of the government employees with the Communists severely damaged the prestige of the government. No one could claim that the strike was an act of disloyalty ordered from abroad.

Now the official figure of 2,000,000-odd unemployed, which Mrs. Sprigge quotes, does not reflect the vast army of *under*employed, or partly employed, nor the crucial fact that in recent months unemployment has been going up counter-seasonally. Factories have been closing for want of raw materials while the cost of living has been rising. In brief, the world arms race has been straining Italy's economy to the breaking point.

Owing to the new anti-democratic electoral law, the government coalition has captured control of many local administrations, but the left-wing popular vote has increased rather than dropped. In view of this the de Gasperi regime may not feel it can secure its position in the Atlantic alliance until it proposes the outright suppression of the Communist Party. The government has abandoned all pretense of supporting the basic reforms which were urged by E. C. A. Its reactionary policy will eventually require setting up a center-right coalition in Parliament with the Monarchists supplying the cement. A restoration was in fact proposed by the Labor government in Britain when de Gasperi visited London last February.

J. O. C.

New York, May 29

REAL ESTATE

Attention NATION Readers!

CHASMIN ESTATES, at Croton Falls, New York, approximately 40 miles from N. Y. C. limits, offers acreage in a 48-acre subdivision, beautifully located in Westchester County.

SEE IT and you will appreciate its suitability for Group Colony or individual summer or all-year homes. Swimming on premises.

Will build to suit or help finance.

Write or phone for free descriptive literature or inspect property on Hardscrabble Road and Route 22. **Address: Chas. Greenhauff, Box 43, Croton Falls, N. Y. Phone: CRoton Falls 7-3667.**

FOR SALE

TWO adjoining Adirondack cottages, (Keene Valley), fully equipped; fully electrified; fireplaces, shower baths; two-car garage; mile from village, on mountain side, with view. G. F. Bowerman, The Ontario, Washington 9, D. C.

SUMMER RENTAL

COOL, 3½-room bungalow. All improvements; 16x20 living room; brook, transportation. 60 miles N. Y. C. To December 1—$500. Box 233, c/o The Nation.

OFFICES FOR RENT—NEW JERSEY

JOURNAL SQUARE, 24 Concourse E Bldg., Hudson Tube Station. Desirable offices; single or suites; also store, low rent. Supt. or owner, AL 4-1080 (N.Y.C.).

PUBLISHING SERVICE

ATTENTION ALL WRITERS! Do you have an idea suitable for story or book? We will develop that idea for publication. Complete cooperation. No "stuffed shirt" reception but friendly sympathetic discussion over editor's desk. Phone or write today! **Mead Agency, 419 Fourth Avenue, N. Y. 16 (OR 9-1150).**

WE print, publish and distribute your manuscript in pamphlet or book form. *Send for free folder.* WILLIAM-FREDERICK PRESS; Pamphlet Distributing Company, 313 West 35th St., New York 1, N. Y.

HANDWRITING ANALYSIS

SCIENTIFIC HANDWRITING analysis. Alfred Kanfer, 62 Leroy St., N. Y. C. Tel. WA 4-1575. Cooperating with doctors, psychologists, schools, firms, industries. Lessons by appointment, evenings. Marital, educational, vocational, psychological problems. Fee, $5.00.

RARE COLLECTION

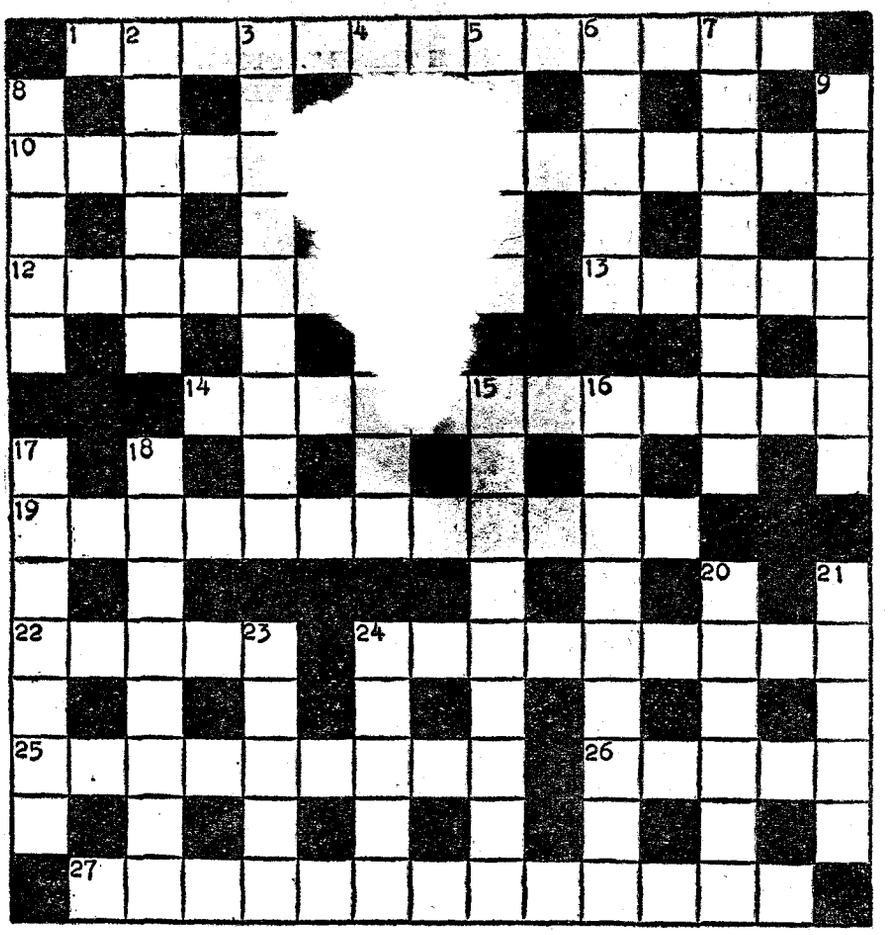
LIFE MAGAZINES, completely bound, all issues March 1937 through 1948 inclusive. Excellent condition. For sale, Box 232, c/o The Nation.

THE Nation
RESORT CLASSIFIED DISPLAY
$7.42 per inch, one insertion
Generous discounts for multiple insertions.
Write or phone today for further information.
ADVERTISING DEPARTMENT
***The* NATION**
20 VESEY STREET, NEW YORK 7, N. Y.
BArclay 7-1066

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Crossword Puzzle No. 416

BY FRANK W. LEWIS



ACROSS

1 10, 20, and 23 might seem one, and mean coterie, perhaps. (7, 6)
10 Subject to a change of 23. (5)
11 This bird seems to tell little Tom to get up. (9)
12 Soapstone might be responsible for causing quite a stir. (9)
13 Eddie asked if he knew her. (5)
14 This passage might sound like it's going ahead. (6, 6)
19 What they must do in a shell game if they want the row even. (4, 8)
22 Dear no! Strange fruit! (5)
24 A job for the judge or the mechanic. (9)
25 Ship, notch, or medieval duchy. (9)
26 A palindrome to construct. (3, 2)
27 Was Chesterfield's? Exactly! (6, 7)

DOWN

2 Where part is found and the ball might be put. (2, 4)
3 Beginning. (9)
4 Agnostic? (9)
5 The coasts of France -- strictly for the birds! (5)
6 Whittier's rebel doesn't ride on them any more. (5)
7 He sounds like a plumber. (8)
8 See 16.
9 Doesn't approve of nesters, obviously! (7)
15 Locks on both sides. (5, 4)
16 and 8. To put a rock into it might be considered sabotage. (3, 4, 2, 5)
17 8 down in detail. (7)
18 A foreigner dined on it. (8)
20 Religious visionary of 10 just under the century mark. (6)
21 Bounds. (5)
23 A pointed reference to a sort of headless 20. (5)
24 Osteopathic error? (5)

• • • • •

SOLUTION TO PUZZLE No. 415

ACROSS:—9 TOPICAL; 10 ALCALDE; 11 RHESUS; 12 ALL RIGHT; 14 SUNBEAM; 15 ENDOW; 17 NEPAL; 19 TITHING; 23 QUINTS; 25 POLYGON; 26 PATELLA; 27 TRANSCENDENTAL.

DOWN:—1 AFTERNOON; 2 REPRESS; 3 NOCTURNAL; 4 ELLA; 5 STABLEMATE; 6 INCUR; 7 OBLIGED; 8 REST; 13 PENTATONIC; 15 ETIQUETTE; 16, 21 across, 1 across WHAT SHALL WE DO WITH A DRUNKEN SAILOR; 18 PEDDLER; 20 GANTLET; 21 WIPE; 22 WAGON; 24 SPAN.

Readers are invited to send for a free copy of Mr. Lewis's "ground rules." Address requests to Puzzle Dept., The Nation, 20 Vesey Street, New York 7, New York.

RESORTS

What'll you have in June?
CHESTER'S ZUNBARG,
in Woodbourne, N. Y.,
offers all sports, informal entertainment, dancing, tavern and television . . . plus fine food and modern accommodations. The nicest people ever. Inviting low spring rates.
Write or phone Woodbourne 1150 for brochure.

THIS ADULT CAMP in Picturesque Gloucester
CAMP ANNISQUAM — a bit of rugged land and seashore — swimming, sailing, boating and fishing on premises. Dancing, tennis, planned trips and all sports. Write for booklet and rates to Abram Resnick, Dir., Gloucester, Mass., N. Y. Office Phone: RE 2-9640.

MERRIEWOODE
A CAMP FOR ADULTS
HIGHLAND LAKE • STODDARD, N. H.
Where Interesting People Meet for the Perfect Vacation. Enjoy beautiful 10-mile lake. All Land and Water Sports. Interesting hiking objectives thru woodland trails. Arts and Crafts, Square and Folk Dancing Instruction. 4 hours by train from N. Y. $50 for Opening Week June 23-30.
OLIVE "HATTIE" BARON, Director
Write Dept. N for literature. Tel: Hancock 98-Ring 13

Timberland
POTTERSVILLE, N. Y.
AN ADULT CAMP IN THE ADIRONDACKS
SPECIAL SPRING RATES NOW!
Limited to 100 • Dancing • All Sports
New York Office: 33 W. 42 St. LO 5-3674
The Rare Charm of an Intimate Congenial Group

• **SACKS LODGE** •
(Formerly Sacks Farm)
SAUGERTIES, N. Y. • Tel: 555
Nearly all rooms with private or semi-private bath. Unusual new dining room and lounge. Superior food. Every recreational facility. Day camp for limited number of children. Truly outstanding vacation value.
INSPECTION VISITS WELCOMED

Stonegate LODGE
ON LONG LAKE, N. Y.
Informal Resort Estate in the Adirondacks
Limited to 90 • 14-mile Lake • Pollen-Free
Tennis • Fishing • Golf • Motor Boating
Folk-Sq. Dances • Concert Trio • Dance Band
Bachelor Club Rate $60-$65
N. Y. Office: 250 West 57th St. Circle 6-6386
• 10% less to July 10—Louis A. Roth, Dir. •

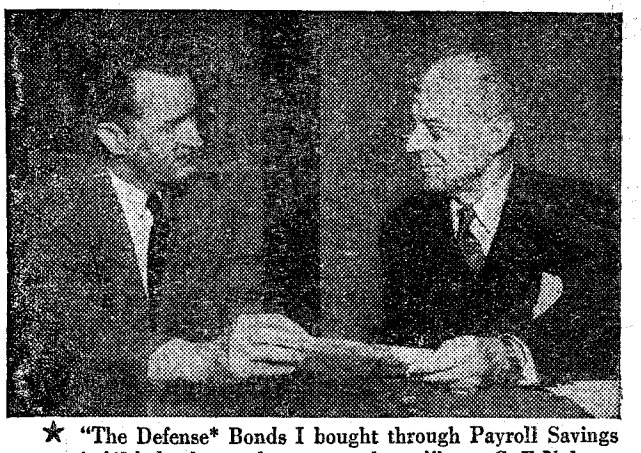
50 MILES TO *FOREST HOUSE*
Your Spring vacation will be truly an unforgettable one, in this gay resort-paradise. Forest House achieves new levels of relaxation, rest and happiness. Superb food, fine quarters, congenial hospitality. Two grand lakes, all sports.
FOREST HOUSE
Lake Mahopac, N. Y. • Tel. MAhopac 8-3449

BREEZEMONT PARK
ARMONK, N. Y.
We Proudly Celebrate
our 15th birthday — Breezemont Park and Camp Alyssum. In 1936 we organized a unique combination of gracious hotel accommodations for parents together with an outstanding camp for children 4–11 in age. Today we are a renowned institution popular with the intelligent parent interested in his child's growth and happiness and who wants to partake in this adventure. Camp is a progressive summer's experience. We invite every interested reader to inspect our facilities. We are only 35 miles from the city.
Phone Armonk Village 3-3162, 3-8155

Printed in the U. S. A. by STEINBERG PRESS, INC., Morgan & Johnson Aves., Brooklyn 6, N. Y.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Defense is your job, too—how to help your country now



★ "The Defense* Bonds I bought through Payroll Savings in '41 helped me to buy my new home!" says ***G. F. Nelson,*** manufacturing technologist at Shell Oil Company. Congratulating Mr. Nelson is Shell Vice President and former Air Force General ***"Jimmy" Doolittle,*** who adds, "At Shell we believe in Payroll Savings—it's a patriotic and *practical* way to do a job for defense!"

★ "The Savings Bonds I'm buying now for America's defense will add almost $100 a month to my company pension when I retire," SP Engineer ***Frank Bacher*** tells his old friend, ***A. T. Mercier,*** President of the Southern Pacific Railroad. "They're an extra step toward independence in which the railroad helped me by encouraging me to join the Payroll Savings Plan."

Mrs. Eleanor Minkwic, drill press operator of Burroughs Adding Machine Company, introduces her Army veteran son Vernon, to her boss, Burroughs President ***John S. Coleman.*** "In 1942 I began buying Bonds through Payroll Savings at Burroughs," says Mrs. Minkwic. "Today they're helping Vernon's G.I. allowance to see him through college!"

TEAM UP WITH THESE TYPICAL AMERICANS IN T[illegible] SAVINGS PLAN!

★ ***Pasquale Santella,*** millwright at United States Steel Company's Carrie Furnaces of the Homestead District Works, has a very personal reason for buying Savings Bonds. As he told ***C. F. Hood,*** United States Steel Company executive vice president, "My son Tony, 19, is missing in Korea. Used to be I bought bonds because it was my duty and it was a good way to save money. Now I want to help lick the Reds and get Tony back. I buy one bond every payday and when Uncle Sam needs more money, I'll buy *more* bonds." He has bought bonds regularly since 1943; has never cashed one.

*U.S. Savings Bonds are Defense Bonds Buy Them Regularly!

TODAY join with these Americans—business leaders and employees—in their drive to make our country and our citizens more secure. If you're an employee, go to your company's pay office *now* and start buying U. S. Defense Bonds through the Payroll Savings Plan—the safe, sure way to save for America's defense and for personal dreams-come-true.

If you're an employer, and have not yet installed the easily handled Plan, you will soon be contacted by one of industry's leading executives. Sign up with him—and help him put the Plan in every company! It's a practical, hard-sense way to help preserve our nation's future, its fortune, and the very institutions that make our lives worth while!

Your Government does not pay for this advertising. It is donated by this publication in cooperation with The Advertising Council and the Magazine Publishers of America.

The Charles C. She[illegible]
EAST TENNESSEE STATE
Johnson City, Tennessee

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED